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Publications

OF THE

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THE

PENN AND LOGAN

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM PENN

AND

JAMES LOGAN,

SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

AND OTHERS.

1700–1750.

FROM THE ORIGINAL LETTERS IN POSSESSION OF THE LOGAN FAMILY.

WITH NOTES BY THE LATE

MRS. DEBORAH LOGAN.

EDITED WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES BY

EDWARD ARMSTRONG, M.A.,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC. ETC.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
AND SOLD BY JOHN PENNINGTON & SON.
1870.

"The Trustees of the Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" have published five volumes.

The first was the "History of Braddock's Expedition," forming the fifth volume of the Memoirs;

The second, "Contributions to American History," forming the sixth volume of the Memoirs;

The third, the "Record of the Court at Upland, Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681," and a "Military Journal, kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795," forming the seventh volume of the Memoirs;

The fourth, a republication of the "First Volume of the Memoirs of the Society;"

The fifth, "Minutes of the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia, &c., 1814–1815," forming the eighth volume of the Memoirs;

The sixth, the present volume, forming the ninth volume of the Memoirs.

The amount so far received and invested by the trustees of the fund is sixteen thousand dollars, the interest only of which is applied to publishing. By the payment of twenty-five dollars, any one becomes entitled to receive, during his or her life, all the publications of the Society.

JOHN JORDAN, Jr.,
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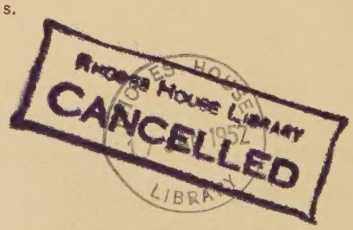

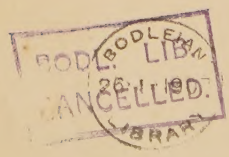

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. IX.

PHILADELPHIA:
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PREFACE.

NOTICE.

THE Trustees of the Publication Fund propose on the 4th of July, 1876, to publish a MEMORIAL VOLUME, which will treat of the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy, and of the operations of the armies during that eventful period of the Revolution. Also a FULL EXAMINATION of the facts relating to the passage and first public reading of the Declaration of Independence in this city, in July, 1776.

ERRATUM.

On page xlvi., in third line from foot, read *Chestnut and Walnut*, instead of "Fourth and Fifth."

housekeeper to take out her private property, while they went to the barn for straw to fire it. A British officer rode up, inquiring for deserters. With much presence of mind, she said they had just gone to the barn to hide themselves in the straw. Off he went, crying, 'Come out! you rascals, and run before me into camp!' In vain they protested and alleged their commissions, and thus Logan's house was spared."—WATSON'S *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 39, edition of 1857.—EDITOR.]

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an appendix, together with other papers which appeared to me to merit a rescue from oblivion. And indeed many of them evidently belong to the public, as containing references to transactions which the historian may claim as his right, whilst the sentiments and opinions of such eminent characters as William Penn and James Logan seem to be a part of the common inheritance of mankind, and therefore ought not to be withheld from them. In performing the work, the selections have been made to the best of my ability, of which, however, I am very diffident, and regret that it had not fallen to the lot of some one to arrange and methodize the materials of which these volumes are composed who had been more capable and familiar with such an employment. In contemplating the sudden rise of Pennsylvania to her present state of wealth, strength, and resources, the mind becomes curious to trace the steps of such prosperity; and I flatter myself that I am performing an acceptable service to my fellow-citizens in discovering to their view some of the remote rills and fountains which are the sources of the majestic river which we now survey. The notes inserted in the work, and the notices of the characters mentioned in the letters, are mostly from information received from papers in the collection at Stenton. The reader will please to bear in mind that, whilst William Penn resided in this country during his second visit, James Logan resided in his family as his secretary; and when the proprietor and his lady moved up to Pennsbury — which was still unfinished — he remained in their house in town; whence the mention of family affairs and directions, to be found in the first series of letters."

It was the design of the American Philosophical Society to publish the entire correspondence presented by Mrs. Logan; but an apprehension that the little general interest manifested at that time in our provincial history would not justify the risk of so extensive an undertaking, caused the project to be relinquished.

The Philosophical Society, at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having kindly permitted the use of

the correspondence, the trustees of the publication fund now avail themselves of the existence of a greater interest in our early annals, to give to the public that which they believe will be acknowledged one of the most valuable series of letters relating to the history of any province or colony which have as yet appeared.

Mrs. Logan continued her labors for several succeeding years, and the result was the production of eleven quarto manuscript volumes.

Her first attempt consisted of three volumes. These, with the addition of many letters subsequently discovered[1] by her, she afterward recopied, with annotations, into four volumes. A duplicate copy of this last series was made at the request of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, to which she added many other letters hitherto uncopied, and to which were also added notes by Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, also a descendant of Logan, than whom none could be found more familiar with the history of the province, or more competent to elucidate its annals.

In a letter dated "Stenton, January 1st, 1820," from Mrs. Logan to the late Mr. Peter S. Du Ponceau, chairman of the Historical Committee, she remarks:

"I have now the pleasure of sending thee the fourth volume of my 'Selections.' But with respect to the letters of William Penn and those of James Logan in return, that term is not correct; for I have copied the whole of their correspondence which is in our possession.

"You will observe what light these letters throw on the differences between our early assemblies and the deputy governors, and will particularly see in what circumstances of fraud the remonstrance from the Assembly in 1704 had its rise, and that many of the complaints

[1] [Mrs. Logan's notes are printed with her initial at the end; those for which the Editor is responsible are placed in brackets. — EDITOR.]

then made against our illustrious founder were either futile in themselves or had their origin in events which he could not control; and I am persuaded it would not be difficult, from these materials, to invalidate the charges made against this truly excellent man and his most able and upright secretary, James Logan, by the author of the 'Historical Review,' which is now acknowledged to have been the work of Dr. Franklin, a name so identified with the reputation of our country that very few of its citizens (even if they possessed the means) would wish to detract from his well-earned fame; yet it is hard to reconcile the opprobrious and disrespectful manner in which James Logan is constantly mentioned in that work with the veneration expressed for his memory by Dr. Franklin, who often, in conversation respecting him with Dr. Logan, acknowledged his obligation to him in the beginning of his career, and valued himself on his friendship. Many of his own letters and notes to James Logan, still extant at Stenton, would confirm this; and these notes and the subjects of them make it appear not a little extraordinary that in Dr. Franklin's memoirs no notice is taken of the intercourse subsisting between them. Shall I say that it appears as if a sense of the injustice done to his memory in the 'Historical Review' occasioned the omission? *That* work was written for party purposes, and, as it too frequently happens on such occasions, Genius and Ability stooped to sacrifice Truth, Candor, and Character at its evanescent shrine." [1]

The public are already somewhat familiar with this correspondence, from the liberal use of the earlier portions of it made

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[1] [Dr. Franklin denied being the author of the "Historical Review." Mr. Parton, in his recently published "Life of Franklin," says that William Franklin was the author of the work. The statements in it respecting the proposed impeachment of Logan rest upon record evidence; but, although Logan always signified his readiness to meet the charges against him, the assembly never saw fit to proceed with them. An opponent of the proprietary interests would, in the heat of party strife, naturally regard Logan, their staunch and able defender, with any but friendly feelings. — EDITOR.]

by Mr. Samuel M. Janney, in his comprehensive "LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN," and from the liberal extracts, accompanied by valuable comments, published by Mr. Alfred Cope in the Philadelphia "FRIEND," under the title "Proprietary Correspondence," beginning in July, 1842, and ending in April, 1846.

This is, however, the first attempt to publish the correspondence in its entirety — a correspondence which will be found to extend over a period of forty years, and to constantly increase in interest. It is supposed the publication may be completed in three volumes, of which that now presented forms the first. The others will be issued at the earliest day practicable.

The Editor's thanks are returned to the American Philosophical Society, and to its librarian, Mr. J. P. Lesley, for the facilities afforded in the prosecution of his task; to Doctor George W. Norris, for the use of a valuable collection of letters, selected and copied by his father, the late Mr. Joseph Parker Norris, from the family papers; and to Miss Mary Norris Logan, for the loan of the manuscript volume of letters copied by her grandmother, Mrs. Deborah Logan, and for many original letters of Penn and Logan. The possession of the latter has enabled him to add some letters which remained uncopied by Mrs. Logan, but which he thought possessed sufficient interest to justify their publication.

Mr. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, of Washington, D. C., has placed in his hands an original letter-book, containing the correspondence of Logan from the year 1717 to 1728, of which valuable use will be made; and to him also his thanks are due.

The second volume of the Correspondence, it is expected, will be ready for the press before the close of the year.

E. A.

Church Lane, Germantown,
February 15th, 1870.

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PENN AND LOGAN CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PENN FAMILY.

THE object of the present paper — written at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania[1] — is to bring down to the present day a history of the Penn family, rather than to commemorate its elder branches, or enter upon a history of the State.

Beginning with Sir William Penn, Knight, the father of our founder, and one of England's great admirals, we briefly trace his ancestry to William Penn, who died in the year 1591. His son, Giles Penn, the father of the admiral, was born in 1621, and married, in 1643, Margaret Jasper.[2] The admiral, a man of great ability in his profession, received early and rapid promotion, rising, at twenty-one, to be captain in the English navy, vice-admiral of Ireland at twenty-six, admiral in the Straits at twenty-nine, vice-admiral of England at thirty-one, general of the Dutch war at thirty-two, member of Parliament at thirty-four, governor of Kingsale at thirty-nine, and captain-commander under the Duke of York at forty-three. He died

[1] This sketch of the Penn family was the subject of an evening's entertainment, having been read before the Historical Society by its author, Mr. John Jay Smith, on the 18th of November, 1867.

[2] "Sir William Penn's daughter Margaret was married to Anthony Lowther, Esq., of Mask, in the County of York, whose descendant in the second generation, Sir Thomas Lowther, of Holker, in the County of Lancaster, Bart., married the Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire. Their only son and child, William, dying unmarried, in 1756, the title became extinct, and his estates passed, by his will, to the noble house of Cavendish."—*Life of Sir William Penn*, by GRANVILLE PENN.

in his fiftieth year. His epitaph, in Redcliff church, Bristol, England, after enumerating his services, says:

> "He withdrew,
> Prepared and made his end; and with a gentle and
> Even Gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his
> Last and Best Port, at Wanstead, in ye County of Essex,
> Ye 16th of September, 1670, being then but 49 years and 4 months old:
> To whose name and merit his surviving Lady hath erected this remembrance."

It sounds oddly in the ear of a Pennsylvanian, upon reaching England, to learn that the name and fame of Admiral Penn are better known and more appreciated than the actions of the founder of our State. Time will decide between the reputations of the father and son. The one may have fought bravely and destroyed his thousands of human lives — the other founded a great commonwealth, and introduced laws whose significant value has impressed itself on a whole great nation's history; and all time will but strengthen his claims on the gratitude of the ages.

In his "GREAT LAW," passed in 1682, at Chester, will be found the grand declaration as to liberty of conscience: "Nor shall he or she, at any time, be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection." The result of this law — one so strongly in contrast with the intolerant legislation of the Old World, from which such numbers had fled and so many are fleeing — can scarcely be appreciated. Upon other states this enlarged view of the rights of conscience had a powerful influence, and they were not tardy in incorporating into their constitutions the grand, imperishable doctrine. The basis of the proprietary government was not Christianity restricted to particular tenets — not a church establishment, with tithes and spiritual courts; but Christianity, with liberty of conscience to all men. The story of the foundation of Pennsylvania, the rescue of the proprietary interests from many and serious embarrassments, and the correspondence of the founder with his agent here, are full of human interest; and the last, detailing, as it does, the sor-

rows and anxieties of the "great and good Penn," cannot be even hastily perused without profound emotion.

The long agony was at last over. William Penn died on 30th July, 1718. The province passed to his sons — a principality now, with resources so vast and expanding that the mind fails to grasp its future. It would have been fair to anticipate that the family which had obtained and planted so great a seed would continue for centuries to reap the ripened fruit. Such, however, was not the case. The sons met with opposition, as did their father, and with the usual difficulties attendant on the founding of a province: some agents embezzled the money produced by sales of land, while the daily wants of each proprietary absorbed much of the proceeds obtained by parting in haste with the most valuable properties. At the same time it is right to record that their revenues from the State were not inconsiderable, and were mainly expended in the adornment of their dwellings of Stoke and of Pennsylvania Castle. These revenues have now almost entirely ceased. William Penn had, by his first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett, a son, William, upon whom he settled the estates in England and Ireland inherited from Admiral Penn, and those brought by his first wife, together producing an income of about fifteen hundred pounds per annum. These estates were then considered more valuable than the American possessions, which were devised to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the sons by William Penn's second wife, Hannah Callowhill. In this connection it may be proper to advert, for a moment, to the residences of William Penn in England and Ireland. His early residence in Ireland, Shangarry Castle, is now an ivy-covered ruin; but its tall tower, rising above the bright-green foliage, gives a commanding and picturesque air to the remains. The Irish estates were in chancery for a long period, and were not released till 1800, when they were divided between the heirs at law of Peter Gaskill and Alexander Durden. The latter married the widow of William Penn's oldest son, William, in 1767, and, dying soon after, she left him, Durden, her sole heir.

Worminghurst House was situated on an eminence overlook-

ing the beautiful South Downs of Sussex, and within a few miles of the sea. It was razed to the ground long since, and the Worminghurst estate absorbed in the domains of the Duke of Norfolk: only the stables remain to mark the spot where stood that charming home, so long brightened by the presiding presence of Penn's first wife, Gulielma Maria.

Ruscombe, where William Penn long lived during the latter years of his life, and where he died, is about six miles from Reading, in Berkshire. The house, which was a fine one, was pulled down a few years since, to make way for a railroad. But to return to our narrative:

John Penn visited Pennsylvania in 1734, and died, without issue, in 1746, leaving his share of the province to his brother Thomas, who came to Philadelphia in 1732, and returned to England in 1740. Thomas married Lady Julianna Fermor, and died in 1775. A curious paper, drawn up by Thomas Penn and completed by Dr. Franklin, in 1759, gives a minute calculation of the supposed worth of the proprietary estate in Pennsylvania, and makes the aggregate value about ten millions sterling. Twenty years later, on the 27th November, 1779, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act (1 Smith, 479) for vesting the estate of the late proprietaries in the commonwealth. As this estate originally consisted of the entire soil of the province, Sabine is correct in stating that it "was by far the largest that was forfeited in America, and perhaps that was ever sequestered during any civil war in either hemisphere." By this act the proprietaries' private estates, including the tenths or manors, were reserved to them, and the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling was required to be paid to the devisees and legatees of Thomas and Richard Penn on the termination of the war, "in remembrance of the enterprising spirit of the founder," and "of the expectations and dependence of his descendants." The amount of money received by the State of Pennsylvania, between 1781 and 1789, from the escheated lands of the heirs of William Penn, appears, by the comptroller-general's account, as recorded in Janney's "Life of Penn," to have been £824,094 0*s.* 7*d.* In addition to the compensation voted by this State, Parliament, in 1790,

granted an annuity of four thousand pounds per annum to the eldest male descendant of William Penn by his second wife, to indemnify the family for the loss of territorial rights in Pennsylvania consequent on the Revolution. This annuity is still regularly paid, the present recipient being, as I suppose, William Stewart, Esq., of Aldenham Abbey, Herts.

After the Revolution, with the exception of John Penn, son of Richard and grandson of William Penn, who was governor of Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1771, and from 1775 to the beginning of hostilities, and who died in Bucks County in 1795, Pennsylvanians saw and heard but little of the Founder's family. It may almost be said they were to us somewhat of a myth. The American ambassador for the time being, perhaps, had an annual invitation to pass a day or two at Stoke Park, but for a long time before my own first visit in 1845, scarcely half a dozen Pennsylvanians, if I am correctly informed, had been taken cordially by the hand by any member of the family. It does not appear that an acerbity had grown up in their minds, though they had to sustain their rights through many vexatious controversies about property; but other interests and connections absorbed their attention and thoughts.

Thomas Penn's eldest son, the late and last John Penn, (grandson of the Founder,) was a virtuoso, a builder and an ornamenter of fine residences — a man of fashion, and no longer retaining, any more than the other relatives, the religious convictions of his great ancestor. He published two large octavo volumes of poems, elegantly illustrated; built successively the great house in Kensington Gardens, London, and the noble mansion of Stoke, whose magnificent park and grounds he laid out and planted. He was governor of the island of Portland, from which he derived the celebrated stone used everywhere, and of which the new Houses of Parliament are built. Portland is on the southern coast of England, one hundred and eighty-five miles from London, with which it is now connected by rail — is opposite Cherbourg on the French coast, and twenty miles west of the Isle of Wight. John Penn there constructed a handsome dwelling in the form of a castle: this was very properly named, at the suggestion of a titled female relative, Pennsylvania Castle.

It was this marine residence which John's nephew, Granville John, after his sale of Stoke Park to Mr. Labouchere, member of a late Cabinet, (now Lord Taunton,) called his home.

Below the castle, on the rocks jutting into the sea, are the remains of Bow-and-Arrow Castle, one of the most ancient in England, built, says tradition, by King Arthur. Ruin as it is, it is still beautifully picturesque, and covered with very ancient ivy. The ivy had become yellow, from having exhausted the too little nourishment the rocks afforded, when an American, in 1865, with the assistance of Mr. Penn and the gardeners, supplied its roots with new earth to resuscitate its amber age. The ruin is in full view of the dining-room, drawing-room, and library windows of the newer castle, which in itself, though castellated, is a modern residence, calculated for a large family, and abounding in every comfort. On a small mounted brass cannon on the front lawn, with its muzzle pointed seaward, is inscribed that it was presented by an intimate friend, a nobleman, to John Penn, "member of Parliament." This is the only record I can recall of John Penn's membership of the British House of Commons. The island of Portland is a singularly barren one as regards trees or cultivation; but by careful shelter and artistic planting, John Penn succeeded in surrounding the castle with belts of beautiful trees, the admiration of numerous visitors, who resort to the house and grounds during the bathing season at Weymouth. A ticket to see the "Governor's Castle" has to be obtained in the town, distant about eight miles. The magnificent Government breakwater, now in the course of construction by convicts, has added, it is supposed, nothing to the value of the castle as a property; but since 1865 the island has been entered by a railroad, intended to convey the Portland stone to London, etc. The grounds belonging to the castle are situated on this valuable stone deposit, on the very apex of which occur remarkable remains of sea-fish, often taken out of the cleavage in a singular state of perfection, and laid aside as specimens for museums: when a good one is found, the workmen call attention to it, and receive as a right the expected fee.

Some of the customs of this island, but now fading away under the influence of a connection by bridges with the main-

land, are as curious and singular as anything related of the most uneducated populations.

At Portland, John Penn, as governor of the island, was regularly and officially in attendance on the court of George the Third when that monarch visited his favorite watering-place, Weymouth, adjoining the island. A likeness of John, in full court-dress, hangs among the family portraits in the picture-gallery at the castle; and there, opposite each other, are very good portraits (copies) of William Penn and James Logan. In another picture, John is seen in full military array, sword in hand, at the head of the Portland troop of horse, which he had organized for the defence of the English coast against the expected invasion of Napoleon.

John Penn also erected the modest mansion of Solitude, still standing on the west bank of the Schuylkill, opposite Fairmount, and now within the limits of our new Park. He had a morbid dislike of intrusion during his hours of study. At Solitude there is still extant the underground passage between the detached kitchen and the dining-room. At the castle a still more elaborate arrangement was made for seclusion. All along the sea front of the mansion there is a private gallery, or hall, leading from the very beautiful sunny library to the drawing and dining rooms in the great round tower. A good story is told somewhere, that a servant at Solitude was determined to know how his master employed his time in those hours when he was not visible: he stationed himself at a keyhole one day, and saw his employer lying on a sofa, delightedly reading a volume of his own poems! His translations exhibit considerable literary acumen, but somehow were never popular. In his college days, says the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1834, John Penn, in virtue of his maternal ancestry, was received as a nobleman at Cambridge, and the degree of M. A. was conferred on him in 1779. He died in 1834.

Granville Penn, John's younger brother, (who died at Stoke in 1844,) was a scholar, a writer of esteemed books; and in fact was called the most learned layman in England. He passed his entire life in literary pursuits and in the education of

his children.[1] He inherited Stoke and the Pennsylvania interests from his brother John. His life was not prolonged beyond a few years afterward, when Stoke, together with other property, and nearly all the small remaining proprietary interests here, fell by inheritance to his oldest son, Granville John.

The Penns of our day, as we have seen, engaged in pursuits foreign to their interests in America, were naturally desirous to know what moneys could be recovered from lands still their own. Many successive agents in the old times, good and bad, had been employed to nurse or to sell — alas! to part with — property before it had fully ripened for the market. In 1845, Granville John was induced to propose a visit to Pennsylvania. Wishing to know more than his father had known, he resolved to see for himself the great State with which his name was so honorably and intimately connected. The "heir," as we may safely call him, visited us first in 1851, and subsequently paid us a second visit of some length. He was of course received with the respect due to his station: the gentlemen of Pennsylvania vied with each other to do him honor; he was the recipient of a public dinner; the Mayor and Councils of Philadelphia gave

[1] The following is a list of the works of Granville Penn:

Observations in Illustration of Virgil's celebrated Fourth Eclogue. 1 vol., oct., London, 1810.

A Christian's Survey of all the Primary Events and Periods of the World. 1 vol., duo., London, 1812.

The Prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Gogue, the last Tyrant of the Church. 1 vol., duo., London, 1814.

The Bioscope, or Dial of Life Explained. 1 vol., duo. Two editions, London, 1814.

Institutes of Christian Perfection; or, Macarius the Egyptian, called the Great. Translated from the Greek. 1 vol., duo., London, 1816.

An Examination of the Primary Argument of the Iliad. 1 vol., oct., London, 1821.

A Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies. Two editions. 2 vols., oct., London, 1825.

Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt. 2 vols., oct., London, 1833.

The Book of the New Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. 1 vol., oct., London, 1836.

Annotations of the Book of the New Covenant. 1 vol., oct., London, 1837.

him a public reception, and his speeches on both occasions were remarkable for classical taste and dignified delivery. These attentions he returned by a very elegant collation under tents at Solitude. He afterward visited many parts of this State, and extended his tour to Washington, Ohio, etc., expressing himself everywhere delighted with our scenery and people, and highly gratified to witness so much that was beautiful, and such great prosperity. His name was a passport to many kindnesses and civilities, which were evinced by railroad facilities and public attentions. The circumstance of the advent of the head of the house of Penn among us, after so long an estrangement, was truly admitted to be of great interest. A similar event cannot be hoped for: his only brother, Thomas, and the only survivor of the name, died without issue September 9, 1869, and was interred in the family vault at Stoke. We therefore of this generation have seen the last of the Founder's descendants of the name of Penn, unless, indeed, some other branch should wisely take the family designation, not by birth its own.

Death has indeed been rife in the circle since 1845. The family at Stoke Park then consisted of the widow of Granville Penn, her husband then very recently deceased, a very old lady; Granville John; three unmarried sisters; and the youngest brother, William, who was educated for the Bar. The mother, the three daughters, and the three sons are now all deceased; but a more happy and united family than they formed twenty-five years ago, it would be difficult to describe. Their surroundings were all of the very first class, as regards a truly noble residence; an extensive and perfectly-kept park, abounding in deer and other game; a library of great size and value; liveried servants, fine horses and coaches, with everything that could make life desirable. The picturesque park, that had seen so many successive generations come and go, as one rambled among its beautiful and ancient trees was as silent as any scene amid our own native forests. The servants had mowed the extensive lawns; the hot-house gardeners had set out the Italian portico with newly-flowered plants, covering the pots with lycopodiums and mosses, and the attendants had all disappeared before breakfast was announced: every sound was stilled, and

the place was all one's own. The deer silently wandered among the ferns half as tall as themselves; the librarian, himself a learned man and an author of merit, was at his post to hand the guests any book they required, or the morning edition of the London *Times*. Such is an imperfect glimpse of the best English life. The impression was, How painful to leave it and to die!

One felt assured, on passing into the great entrance-hall, beneath a funereal hatchment in memory of the late proprietor, that he was not entering a house of consistent Quakers, for one of the first objects was a pair of small brass cannon, taken by Admiral Penn in his Dutch wars, elegantly mounted and polished; and near by, opening on the left, was a fine billiard-room. Family prayers were not neglected: the numerous servants were regularly assembled, as is a usual custom in England: the service of the day was reverently read, and all, from the head of the house to the humblest individual, on their knees gave thanks for mercies received. The house was not wanting in memorials of Pennsylvania—a large portion of the Treaty Tree, sent by some members of the Historical Society, with a silver label on it, ornamenting the grand drawing-room of the second story, which was reached by a superb, long, and rather fatiguing marble staircase. The birds of Pennsylvania, too, were represented in elegant glass cases, together with Indian relics, and a finely preserved beaver, which animal was once the annual tribute of the Penns to the Crown.

Stoke was purchased in 1760 of the noble family of Cobham by Thomas Penn, son of the Founder. It had been the property of Sir Christopher Hatton, promoted by Queen Elizabeth for his graceful person and fine dancing; of Lord Coke, (Coke upon Littleton;) and lastly of the Cobham family. Below the garrets, and at the extremity of one wing of the original mansion, had been a state bed-chamber, which, according to tradition, was once occupied by Queen Elizabeth, and where she gave an audience. The ceiling was marked in several places with the initials E. R. and a crown.

A commanding pillar by Wyatt, with a life-size figure of Sir Edward Coke, was erected by the late John Penn not far from

the new house. The old manse was a quaint brick structure, as shown by a view from the pencil of the celebrated Mrs. Oliver: it is now mainly demolished, enough, however, being left to exhibit its character. What remains has been converted into the residence of the keeper of the park, with two apartments in the second story fitted up by the Penns, as pleasure-rooms or resting-places, and furnished with portraits, hangings, and other decorations in keeping with the age of its erection. Space has also been left for a fine racket-court under the old roof and walls.

But one of the chief interests of this old dwelling lies in the fact that it is the scene of Gray's "Long Story." The church, not far from the mansion, is Gray's church — the inspirer of his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." This exquisite poet and scholar was buried in the churchyard in the year 1771, without any kind of memorial to indicate the spot; but it is known to be near the grave of his venerated mother: a recent rector has placed a stone under the window overlooking the scene, where the inscription by Gray is in substance as follows:

"The mother of many children,
One only of whom had the misfortune
To survive her."

But in 1798 a sarcophagus, elevated upon a pedestal, after an elegant design by James Wyatt, and with appropriate inscriptions, partly from Gray's odes and Elegy, was erected by John Penn upon a spot commanding the points of view connecting the interesting objects there particularized. On one side are the following eight lines of the Elegy, supposed to represent Gray himself:

"Hard by yon wood, now smiling as in scorn,
Muttering his wayward fancies, he would rove;
Now drooping, woful, wan, like one forlorn,
Or crazed with care, or cross'd in hopeless love.

"One morn I miss'd him on the 'customed hill,
Along the heath and near his fav'rite tree:
Another came; nor yet beside the rill,
Nor up the lawn, nor at the wood, was he."

On another side are lettered the following lines from the "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College":

"Where once my careless childhood strayed,
A stranger yet to pain! —
I feel the gales that from ye blow
A momentary bliss bestow,
As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
My weary soul they seem to soothe,
And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring."

John Penn and other members of his family have shown, as the London *Times* remarks, the greatest regard for the memory of Gray; in fact, have identified their name with his.

Gray's house, on the large farm belonging to the estate, was most superbly ornamented by the celebrated architect Wyatt, who converted it into an Elizabethan mansion, with every possible accessary of ornament and beauty — fountains, etc. — at the expense of the late Mr. G. J. Penn, who designed occupying it at intervals for his own residence, though his time during the latter portion of his life was mostly passed in London, in attendance on his invalid brother. Some years, however, were greatly enjoyed by him in domestic tranquillity with his sisters in a desirable house in Belgravia.

Gray's house was finally sold to a man of wealth. In 1850, the Government was in treaty for Stoke as a residence for the Prince of Wales, the negotiation failing only because it was determined the Prince should live nearer to or in London. As an evidence of the value of these places, Stoke was sold for three hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and, if I am correctly informed, Gray's house and the large farm attached produced an equal sum.

The library of Stoke House is situated behind the grand colonnade, and is one hundred and eighty feet in length: it is a noble room, and was nobly filled with the best books and best editions; among which the visitor could not fail to remark the original manuscript of Gray's Elegy, which consisted of only a few sheets, with many alterations on them, and which was afterward sold for twelve hundred dollars. This treasure was encased in a delicate, velvet-covered box, clasped and ornamented with gold. Every published edition of Gray was here enshrined: the first has the modest title-page, "Poems by Mr. Gray."

The whole scene is surpassingly lovely, and, being within an easy walk of Windsor, it is the shrine of the pilgrimage of travellers who appreciate true genius and finished poetical expression. The mansion was also a "show house": the picture by West of the Treaty Tree — now removed to Philadelphia — the family portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and other treasures of art, with John Penn's tasteful architecture, landscape gardening, and extensive planting, attracted and still attract numerous visitors. In short, it is a fitting residence for a wealthy nobleman. Its buildings and artistic decorations absorbed a large part of the income from manors reserved in this province.

A pleasant neighborly feeling existed between the royal family and the Penns: the fox-hounds of Windsor frequently were allowed to course through Stoke Park; John Penn sent, on one occasion, some of Pennsylvania's favorite canvas-back ducks for the royal table. In 1864, Herne's Oak, in the great Windsor Park, blew down. The Queen ordered the wood to be carefully preserved. Mr. Penn requested a small portion, which was cheerfully granted. A copy of Campbell's edition of Shakspeare, complete in one volume, and now in the writer's possession, is one of two copies bound with the relic, and the only one in America.

The late Granville John Penn, born November, 1803 — whose gift to the Historical Society of the original belt of wampum will be remembered, and whose accomplishments, amiable disposition, and refined manners endeared him to all who knew him — was educated for the Chancery Bar, and read with a learned tutor who has since risen to great eminence. His scholarship he acquired at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Dr. Langley, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, was his and his surviving brother's tutor there. Under the auspices of this distinguished prelate he had intended to reprint the "New Covenant" — a translation of the New Testament that had added to his father's well-earned reputation, and is even now in esteem — a work of at least as great merit as the translation by our own Charles Thomson, the "perpetual secretary" of the Continental Congress, and "the man of truth."

The early education of Granville John, and of his brothers, Thomas and William, was conducted by their father: they never had gone to any school previous to their entering college. While at college — it may be mentioned in passing — Mr. Granville John Penn acted as one of the pages at the gorgeous coronation of George the Fourth — a position much sought for by young men of family. He was fond of relating that, on this great occasion, the young pages, unaccustomed to waiting on others, entirely forgot to bring in the hot dishes; the royal company was consequently obliged to be contented with the cold collation set on for show during the ceremony; after which the newly-fledged servitors had the satisfaction of consuming the turtle soups, the game, and other delicacies intended for royalty.

Granville John Penn passed most of his early years at his father's house in Hertford Street, Mayfair, with Lord and Lady Cremorne, or at Stoke Park, whither the family, at the period of the Weymouth season, regularly migrated during their uncle John's residence at the Portland castle.

It must be added that the subject of my too brief memoir, the late Granville John Penn, was rather suddenly stricken down, though there were evidences for some time of a breaking up of his constitution. He died March 29th, 1867, with a will unsigned in his hand — nobody being with him but his man-servant. By this omission of his signature, all his property descended to his brother Thomas, a gentleman in clerical orders, a man of most extensive reading and research, but subsequently declared, by a commission of lunacy, incapable of managing his estates, which were consequently in chancery, and since his death have gone to William Stuart, Esq., his nearest kin. The following notice of his death appeared in the London *Times:*

"Granville John Penn, Esq.

"Granville John Penn, Esq., formerly of Stoke Park, Bucks, who died on the 29th ult., was the lineal representative of Sir William Penn, admiral of the fleet, temp. King Charles the Second, and of the admiral's only and illustrious son, William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania; and was the eldest son of Granville Penn, Esq., of Stoke

Park, by his wife Isabella, eldest daughter of General Gordon Forbes, colonel Twenty-ninth Foot; and grandson of his Excellency Governor Thomas Penn, and his wife, Lady Julianna Fermor, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret. Mr. Granville John Penn was a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for Bucks, with which county he and his distinguished family had been so long associated. He died unmarried, and is succeeded by his only surviving brother, the Rev. Thomas Penn, M. A., of Christ Church, Oxon. Of the four sisters of Mr. Penn, just deceased, three died unmarried; and the eldest, Sophia, died the first wife of General Sir William Gomm, G. C. B. Sir William married a second time, and still survives, the beloved and favorite commander of the well-known and celebrated Coldstream Guards. At the age of eighty-nine he is a hale old gentleman, fond of society, attending all the court ceremonies and concerts, entertaining royalty at his own table, and taking his turn at the grouse during the shooting season. He was with Sir John Moore at Corunna so long ago as 1809, and commanded, before the last outbreak, the army of the interior of India, where he lived in great state. His retinue was accompanied by a large force of elephants, and with the train of an Eastern satrap he made an annual tour of inspection. Mr. G. J. Penn had repeated invitations to join him in these excursions, and to bring with him, as a companion, either an Englishman or an American; but these opportunities for a high ride on a howdah were reluctantly declined. Returning from India, he purchased the late John Penn's great house in London, where he resides. Sir William possesses some interests in Pennsylvania, which he acquired, however, by purchase. He is childless.

"The Penns have left their memory lastingly connected with their former seat, Stoke Park, and its neighborhood. Stoke Park, since their time the residence of Lord Taunton, and now in the possession of Mr. Coleman, has close to it the time-honored and beautiful churchyard of Gray's Elegy, where Gray himself reposes, with little as yet to notify the fact, and where his grave might be passed unheeded but for the magnificent cenotaph erected not far from the churchyard to the poet's memory by the worthy John Penn, governor of Portland in the County of Dorset, and last hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, grandson of the founder, William Penn, and uncle of the Mr. Penn just deceased. To the poet the Penns thus did honor, whilst, pursuant to the stringency of Quaker custom, their own great William Penn lies in an unmarked, humble grave in the Quakers' burial-ground of Jordans, a few miles from Stoke. Yet, as stated, the whole district is replete with recollections of the Penns, few visitors

failing to see Jordans, and to associate the Penn name with Stoke Park and village, and the monument of Gray."

Mr. Penn's remains were solemnly deposited in the family vault in the church situated on glebe land in Stoke Park — "Gray's Church" — to which the Penns had long been the most liberal patrons, a fine organ having been one of Granville John's last munificent gifts. As lord of the manor, the family pew occupied the entire basement beneath the steeple, which pew, unlike anything we see in America, was a large room, with a fireplace in it, comfortable chairs and ottomans, and a curtain drawn at pleasure to conceal the inmates. The great tomb or vault of the Penns is situated about the centre of the church, and to gain access to it numerous pews have to be removed.

I have proposed to trace the descendants of William Penn to the present generation, and there are several reasons why I should do so. In a transaction so large as the settlement of this Commonwealth, where proprietary interests and reservations of interests were frequent, there is no saying when the acquired rights may cease. As instances of those rights, two illustrations will suffice: Thomas Penn, son of the Founder, owned the site on which Easton, Pennsylvania, is built, and gave to the new town two squares of ground to erect thereon a court-house and a prison. In the deed it was stipulated that *a red rose* was to be paid at Christmas to the head of the family for ever, thus reserving a consideration. In course of time, the city fathers of Easton wished to remove their prison and court-house, and employ the ground as public squares. They could not divert the gift from its original purposes without consent of the heir of the Founder: he happened to be with us, say, in 1852. Application was made to allow the change, and a liberal cheque, "to save trouble," as the clerk expressed it, was sent, and I believe accepted, for granting the use of the ground to a new purpose.

Another instance may be mentioned. In all the manors — and they were quite numerous — reservation was made of all the minerals. About five years ago a zinc company was formed to work certain mineral lands in Sinking Valley, Tyrone County.

On examining their deeds it was found that the minerals were reserved, and some eight dollars an acre had to be paid to the agent of the Penns to extinguish the royalty.

It will be remembered that Admiral Penn declined one of the highest titles in the gift of the Crown because his son, having turned Quaker, would never wear it. He did not foresee that his descendants would return to the communion of the Church of England.

The Founder of Pennsylvania married, as already stated, first, Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Sussex, who was killed in the civil wars at the siege of Barnber, and, secondly, Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill; and it is worthy of note how many titles are still in possession of his present or late descendants.

Thomas, son of the Founder, married, at the age of fifty, Lady Julianna Fermor, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret and Lempster. Her father's titles became extinct in 1867 by the decease of the Earl of Pomfret, who died unmarried at his London residence in St. James' Place, in his forty-third year. Mr. G. J. Penn had been his guardian, as well as of his younger brother, also now deceased. Lord Pomfret received his degrees in 1845, and soon after took his seat in the House of Lords. His appearance was distinguished: tall and handsome, in his Oxford dress he looked the young nobleman. I find the following in the London *Times:* as it is brief and to our purpose, enumerating sundry near relatives, etc., it is here inserted:

"Wills and Bequests. — Probate of the will of the Right Hon. George William Richard Fermor, Earl of Pomfret, late of Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, was granted by Her Majesty's Court of Probate, on the 5th of August, to his lordship's brothers-in-law, Sir Thomas George Hesketh and Colonel Thomas Wedderburn Ogilvy, (Life Guards,) and his (the testator's) cousin, Sir George William Denys, of Draycott Hall, Yorkshire, the executors. The personality was sworn under twenty thousand pounds. His lordship's will bears date the 13th of February, 1867, and he died on the 8th of June, in St. James' Place, at the age of forty-three, a bachelor. The title becomes extinct. He has appointed and devised all his estates in Cumberland, subject to conditions of indenture of 1851 and

otherwise, to his cousin, Sir George William Denys; and devises all his other freehold estates, over which he had a power of disposal, to such uses as are contained in the settlement, and to be held in like manner; and leaves all his pictures, furniture, and plate to be held with the settled estates in the County of Northampton. He bequeathes the residue of his personal property to his two sisters, Lady Anna Maria Arabella, wife of Sir Thomas G. Hasketh, M. P., of Rufford Hall, Leicestershire, and Lady Henrietta Louisa, wife of Colonel Thomas W. Ogilvy, in equal proportions."

Pomfret Castle and the principal estates are in Northamptonshire.

Lady Julianna is always mentioned in the family with the greatest respect and regard. An engraving of Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of herself, surrounded by her young family, is a fine work of art and very rare.

While thus dwelling on the Penn family, it is interesting to remember that not only is the name of the Founder affixed to many places in our State, as well as elsewhere, but the names of his relations, such as Callowhill and Letitia, also occur as household words, and are to be found on our street corners. In Easton, streets are still called Julianna, Fermor, and Pomfret. Lancaster boasts of a Julianna Library, which, I am afraid, is composed mostly of musty volumes.

William Penn's granddaughter, Margaret, married Thomas Freame: their daughter, Philadelphia Hannah, born in Philadelphia, married Viscount Cremorne, of Dawson Grove, Ireland, and thus became Lady Cremorne. They owned and resided on a beautiful spot in London, on the Thames, which has been sold, and is known as Cremorne Gardens, a place long of fashionable resort. The title is still in existence, and the present head of the family has lately been created Earl Dartrey, his eldest son bearing the title of Lord Cremorne. Earl Dartrey is a nobleman of large income, and is an Irish peer: the family name is Dawson. He is in high favor, and at this time one of the lords of the court, and is constantly attendant upon the Queen.

There was a lovely portrait of Philadelphia Hannah Penn, Lady Cremorne, in the great north room of Stoke, painted by Sir Joshua; and one of the last acts of the late Mr. Penn was

the presentation of this portrait, and that of her husband, to Earl Dartrey. Lady Cremorne died so lately as 1826, at the age of eighty-six. Some of the Cremorne furniture and china and plate was at Pennsylvania Castle in 1865.

William Penn's son, Thomas, had a daughter, Sophia Margaret, who married, May 3, 1796, Archbishop Stuart of Armagh, a lineal descendant of the royal family of Stuart, and Lord Primate of all Ireland. Very singularly, the archbishop, when ill with the gout and in great suffering, called for his opiate, prescribed to allay pain, when Mrs. Stuart, in her anxiety, administered the embrocation, which, being a poison, caused his death. It is said that on discovering her fatal mistake, she rushed into the street in her night-dress, and her hair turned white with the horror of her incautious act: certain it is that she never recovered her equanimity.

The Most Rev. Dr. Stuart died in 1822. His remains were deposited in the family vault at Sutton, where, on one of the walls of the old church, is a marble tablet, bearing the following interesting inscription:

"In the same vault with
The Honorable William Stuart, D. D.,
Primate of all Ireland,
Are deposited the remains of his Widow,
The Honorable Sophia Margaret,
The last surviving granddaughter of
William Penn,
The celebrated Founder of Pennsylvania.
Born 25th of December, 1764.
Died 29th of April, 1847.
Also Louisa, their youngest daughter,
Who departed this life 20th of December, 1823,
Aged 22 years."

Their eldest son, William, married Henrietta, daughter of Admiral Sir C. Pole, who, by the decease of his near relatives, is now the head of the house of Penn.

Their daughter, Mary Julianna, married Thomas, Viscount Northland, Earl Ranfurly, the eldest son retaining the title of Northland. The title of Ranfurly is now held by an infant, the fourth earl. The family name is Knox. The Hon. Stuart Knox,

son of a former earl, now represents what is called a pocket borough, Dungannon, in Parliament.

I find the following brief notice in the *London Illustrated News*, of July, 1866. It serves to continue our story, and is therefore inserted entire :

"The Countess Dowager of Ranfurly.

"The Right Hon. Mary Julianna, Countess Dowager of Ranfurly, who died on July 10, 1866, at her town-house, 10 Gloucester Place, Portman Square, was the eldest daughter of the late Honorable and Most Rev. William Stuart, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, by his wife, Sophia Margaret Julianna, daughter of Thomas Penn, Esq., and his wife, Lady Julianna Penn, of Stoke Park, Stoke Pogis, Bucks, and was the granddaughter of King George the Third's celebrated prime minister, John, third Earl of Bute, K. G., and was the sister of the present William Stuart, Esq., of Aldenham Abbey, Herts. Her ladyship was born April 3, 1797, and was married, February 8, 1815, to Thomas, second Earl of Ranfurly, who died April 26, 1840. By this union her ladyship had issue — Thomas, third Earl of Ranfurly, and two other sons, one of whom survives ; and seven daughters, of whom six survive and four are married — viz., Lady Mary Stuart Page Read, of Sutton House, Suffolk ; Lady Louisa Julianna Alexander, of Forkhill House, in the County of Armagh ; Lady Julianna Caroline Walker ; and Lady Adela Henrietta Goff, of Hale Park, Hants. The Lady Ranfurly just deceased was grandmother of Thomas Granville Henry Stuart, fourth and present Earl of Ranfurly."

The now minor Earl of Ranfurly, Thomas Granville Henry Stuart, is said to inherit a large rent-roll from estates in the North of Ireland, which will accumulate during his minority.

William Stuart, Esq., a son of the Most Rev. William Stuart, and now the representative of the Penn family, is a gentleman of education and fortune. He lives in hospitable style, and has a noble library, in the centre of which, on a pedestal and gorgeous cushion, and covered with a glass urn reversed, is preserved the gold medal and long chain presented to Admiral Penn by Parliament. Its fellow, a like gift to Admiral Blake, was considered by the heirs of Blake intrinsically too valuable to retain, and was melted. Thus the Penn medal is unique.

Our own Pennsylvania family of descendants of the Founder, the Gaskills and Halls, etc., are also the heirs of the honor of the lineage. They are descended from William Penn's oldest son, William, who married Mary Jones, and died in France. They are our highly esteemed fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania, and possess the Irish estate.

William Penn's son, William, married Mary Jones, as above stated. Their son, William, married, first, Christiana Forbes; second, Ann Vaux. This third William's daughter by his first wife, Christiana Gulielma, married Peter Gaskill. Their children were Jane, Thomas Penn, Alexander Forbes, Peter Penn, and William Penn Gaskill. Peter Penn Gaskill married Elizabeth Edwards, of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and left numerous issue, viz.: William Penn; Thomas Penn, married to Mary McGlenachen; Eliza Penn; Alexander Forbes; Peter Penn, married to Louisa Heath; Jane Penn; Isaac Penn; Christiana Gulielma, married to William Hall.

From Peter Penn Gaskill and Louisa Heath descended Elizabeth Penn; Louisa, married to William Gerald Fitzgerald; Mary Gulielma Penn, Gulielma Penn, Hetty Penn, Mary Penn, William Penn, Jane Penn, Emily Penn, and Peter Penn.

Christiana Gulielma Gaskill, who married William Hall, left descendants, viz.: William Hall and Peter Hall.

There are other descendants of the Founder whom this imperfect sketch should note. To save confusion, I have traced the family of Thomas first. Richard, his brother, (son of the Founder,) was joint proprietor with Thomas. He married Hannah Lardner, daughter of Richard Lardner, M. D. Lynford Lardner, brother to Hannah (Lardner) Penn, came to this country, and was much esteemed and trusted by the proprietaries: he was appointed receiver-general and keeper of the great seal. He was a gentleman in all the senses of that comprehensive word, and has left a family still high in the esteem of their fellow-citizens. They possess some valuable portraits of the Penns, sent them, with every token of esteem and regard, by Richard Penn. May we hope that these, now in the family of Richard Penn Lardner, Esq., will be carefully preserved? The children of Richard Penn by Hannah Lardner were John Penn,

governor of Pennsylvania from 1763 to the Revolution, who married Anne Allen, and died in Pennsylvania, but was buried in England, who also built Lansdowne, on the Schuylkill; Richard Penn, who married Mary Masters, and visited us in 1808; and Hannah, who married James Clayton.

Richard Penn and Mary Masters had issue — William, Richard, Hannah and Mary: the latter married Samuel Paynter. William visited Pennsylvania with his father in 1808, and remained here some years. His character was not an estimable one: he married here disreputably, and dying not long after, he left his widow but ill provided for: she went to Paris, where she was seen not many years since, still carrying the external marks of beauty.

Richard and Hannah never married, and survived to within a few years. They settled at Richmond Hill, on the Thames, and, finding their incomes insufficient for their style of life, Hannah came to Philadelphia, and sold their properties in this city at their then low values, and with the proceeds purchased a joint annuity. Richard, who was a genial, kind-hearted man, and the author of a little treatise on angling, devised his remaining proprietary interests to his intimate friend Sir Peter Smith, who now comes in for a share of the dilapidated fortune which, by the exercise of reasonable prudence and management, might have made its possessor one of the richest men of this rich age.

The last-named Richard undertook, at one time, to examine the papers of William Penn, to which no biographer of our Founder has yet had full access — a fact to be deeply deplored. For his purpose, a room at Stoke was prepared, and the librarian summoned, when huge trunks and drawers were placed at his disposal. The task proved too onerous, and was soon given up in despair. The next destination of these documents was a fireproof room of the Pantechnicon, in London, where they remained till 1864, together with the family and other pictures, plate, and reserved valuables. In that year a portion of the letters and papers was transported to Pennsylvania Castle. There I saw some of them, particularly English letters to Penn from well-known celebrities; but nothing had been opened

relating to Pennsylvania. It is for many reasons to be hoped the family will show mercy to these long locked-up documents, and give them to the world under suitable auspices.

The little less than malicious charges of Lord Macaulay against William Penn, lately repeated (and distorted) by Victor Hugo, have been ably and successfully refuted; but it is well to say here that the late Granville John Penn found the most ample proofs of their falsity. He had collated from a number of family letters and papers sufficient to convince the world that the would-be historian's assertions were untrue accusations. Mr. Penn, unfortunately, did not live to make them public.

For any further information regarding the family of Penn, I refer to a sheet entitled "William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylvania, his Ancestors and Descendants. 1852. By THOMAS GILPIN"—a painstaking and accurate genealogist and gentleman—from which may be gleaned many names and marriages here omitted.

The fragmentary particulars I have prepared will have exhibited, by inference, the career of some of the more prominent members of the family, who, though most respectably and honorably employed, abandoned to agents one of the finest inheritances on earth—a province situated on the isothermal line most conducive to the healthy growth and happiness of man; where fogs do not hide the light of heaven, nor hurricanes destroy whole cities at one fell blast; where the climate is not so cold in winter as to destroy the animals on which man depends for labor and food, as is sometimes the case farther northward, nor insupportably warm in the summer solstice, as in the country and islands south of us; a province where grow the best fruits, cereals, and grass, and vegetables, in the utmost perfection and luxuriance; where iron and coal are in such abundance that no man has yet dared to calculate the date of their exhaustion; where perfect freedom as regards religious tenets—thanks to the Founder—exists, and where we might all be as happy as it is possible to be on this planet—*if we could only get rid of the politicians.* In short, we have the best climate in the world, producing, by the simple labors of the freeman, and—thanks to our own inventions, with lightened toil—nearly all

needed luxuries. All this fair land and its abundance — of which even the tenths reserved at the Revolution were a princely estate — were left for the ease and honors of the Old World — it is not mere hyperbole to say *abandoned* for less noble objects of ambition. Agents and sub-agents, at a heavy cost, were employed; proprietary governors were salaried and supported; the moneys received were almost always spent in advance; and a commission and interest were charged by London bankers, who kept an open account with the heirs as long as there was anything to authorize it. It sometimes seems to me that every stone composing the walls of Pennsylvania Castle cost a city lot; that every pane of glass in Stoke mansion alienated a ground rent; while every grand entertainment in the London house may safely be said to have taken a farm.

An American was asked, in London, not many years ago, by a person in good society, and who ought to have known better, if Philadelphia was near Pennsylvania. It is true that many of our transatlantic cousins know little of us; for this ignorance, however, we can forgive them, for we know little of many points, geographical and other, relating to them; but we could not forgive ourselves, and posterity would not forgive us, if we, who have been their contemporaries, allowed the inheritors of our Founder's name to be left without trace or memento. As a matter of taste and feeling we should make the record: if it is a duty, it is surely a matter of interest historically, to know the fate of the descendants of a great and good man. Such is the pleasing task of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania when it commemorates the good deeds of Penn — deeds which have resulted in such great and permanent good. He sowed in sorrow — we are reaping the ripened fruit. *We* should rejoice to keep bright the chain, and record, as time passes rapidly away, the story of his posterity.

The exact story of William Penn's connection with his father the admiral, has been sometimes a little distorted. It is well, therefore, to copy here what his grandson says, in his "Life of Sir William Penn." It is evidently intended to be, and probably is, entirely correct:

"His father's health, which had been declining rapidly throughout the summer, was now on the point of failing him altogether. His disappointment, and the various conflicting feelings put in action by his son's imprisonment and persecution, could not but tend to hasten its decay. Though he was deeply grieved at the course which his son had chosen to pursue, he was sensible of his excellence, admired his qualities, and was indignant at his persecutors. In the few days that he survived after his son's liberation he had the comfort of receiving, both from the King and Duke of York, the most gracious and kind assurances of their regard, and their promise of continuing the same to his son; a promise, which both these princes religiously observed. At length, on the 16th of the same month of September, he sunk under his infirmities; and expired, worn out by his public services, at the age of forty-nine years and five months." — *Life of Sir William Penn*, by GRANVILLE PENN.

"It had been the King's intention to raise Sir William Penn to a higher honor, by the title of the borough which he represented in Parliament; but, his son having embraced the persuasion of the Society of Quakers, and having, in 1668, in his work entitled, 'No Cross, no Crown,' published an express and vehement disclaimer of all titles of honor, through the religious principles of his new persuasion, that stream of royal favor was stemmed. In that work he largely assigns 'the reasons why he, and the people with whom he walks in religion, decline giving gaudy titles, and refuse the present use of these customs; and cannot esteem titles such as these, most excellent, most sacred, your grace, your lordship, etc., being prohibited by God, his Son, and servants in days past.' To this point he alludes, in a letter written some years after, (the 5th of the 10th month, 1682), from the new town of Chester, in his infant province of Pennsylvania: 'It is more than a *worldly title or patent* that hath clothed me in this place: nor am I sitting down in a *greatness that I have denied.* Had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home; where the difference between what I am here, and was offered and could have had there, is as wide as the places are.' " — *Ibid.*

NOTE. — Works, Life, fol., vol. 1, p. 124; 8vo., vol. 1., p. 86; Clarkson's Life of William Penn, vol. 1, pp. 351–352. Mr. Clarkson, not being aware of the allusion in the first sentence, has omitted it in his extract from this letter. During the years 1768–70, when Viscount Weymouth was secretary of state for the plantations, the late Mr. Thomas Penn, last surviving son of the Quaker, (my father,) often observed in his family, that, in transacting the business of his province with that noble lord, he could rarely avoid the reflection that, if his father had not been a Quaker, he should

have borne the title then borne by the noble secretary. It is certain that the title of Weymouth did not issue from the Crown until after the execution of the grant of the province of Pennsylvania, as its equivalent, in 1680; which province was erected by its charter, into a seignory, and the grant made to rest on the same ground on which the title would have stood; viz.: "*The merits of Sir William Penn in divers services, etc.*" — *Life of Sir William Penn*, by GRANVILLE PENN.

EXTRACT FROM SIR WILLIAM PENN'S WILL.

"I do also will and devise unto my eldest son, William Penn, my *gold chain and medal*, with the rest and residue of all my plate, household stuff, etc., not herein before devised, etc. And I do hereby constitute and declare, nominate, and appoint my said son William sole executor of this my last will and testament," etc.

NOTE. — His gold chain and medal remain with his family. An engraving of the medal is given in Virtue's Collection of the Works of Simon, the eminent artist who executed it, facing page 27. A correct engraving of the same is also published, as a frontispiece, in one of the volumes of Charnock's *Biographia Navalis.* — *Life of Sir William Penn.*

Here lieth the body of
HONOURABLE JOHN PENN, ESQ.,
One of the late Proprietaries of
Pennsylvania.
Who died February 9th, A.D. 1795,
Aged 67 years.

[The above inscription is upon a slab in the aisle in front of the chancel, 19 feet from the south wall, Christ Church, Philadelphia.]

The house occupied by General Washington, on Market below Sixth Street, Philadelphia, was the property of William Masters, and the inheritance of Mrs. Penn and Mrs. Camac, and they lived there for some time. It was afterwards sold to Robert Morris, and rented for the President.

Ann Allen, who married Richard Penn, (sup. xxxvi.,) was the daughter of Chief-Justice Allen, and granddaughter of Andrew Hamilton. Chief-Justice Allen bought the house on the west side of Third, between Willing's Alley and Spruce Street, which had been built by Colonel Byrd, of Westover, Va. The house was afterwards the property and residence of Chief-Justice Chew.

MRS. DEBORAH LOGAN.

[The Editor is indebted for this interesting sketch to Mr. ISAAC NORRIS, by whom it was written.]

THIS accomplished and highly gifted lady was born of Quaker parents, and educated as a Friend; and, although consistent in her profession, she was willing to concede to others that right of judgment she claimed for herself. She was the only daughter of Charles Norris, and was born October 19th, 1761, in the old Norris House, that occupied the site of the present Custom House, on Chestnut Street. Her ancestry embraced some of the leading and distinguished men of the province. Isaac Norris the elder was her grandfather, and Governor Lloyd her great-grandfather, in the paternal line, and Joseph Parker of Chester, and John Ladd of New Jersey, in the maternal line.[1]

[1] [The following account of Mrs. Deborah Logan's paternal ancestry was prepared, by her daughter, the late Mrs. Maria Logan, at the request of the late Mr. J. R. Tyson, from memoranda left by her mother. The first Isaac Norris therein mentioned was the correspondent of James Logan, many of whose letters will be found in this volume. — EDITOR.]

"'My grandfather, Mr. Isaac Norris, senior,' says my mother, Mrs. Deborah Logan, in the account of her family, 'was born July 26th, 1671, in the Isle of Wight, Great Britain; but removed with his parents, when young, to Jamaica, where his mother died, June 3d, 1685. His father, Thomas Norris, being dissatisfied with the West Indies, sent his son to Pennsylvania, in 1690, in order, if he should approve of the country, to make a settlement for the family; but on his return to Jamaica, in 1692, to bring them over, he had the affliction to find that his father and most of the family had perished in the dreadful earthquake which destroyed Port Royal, June 7th, 1692, the vessel, he was in, sailing over the place where his father's house had stood. He then collected the remains of his property, which amounted to but little more than an hundred pounds sterling, and came back to Pennsylvania, where it pleased Divine Providence to bless him in an extraordinary manner:

At the period when she reached maturity of life, Philadelphia, the chief city of the country, was, and long continued to be, the

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he grew rich, and was truly respectable, ever maintaining the fairest character for integrity and honor. He was endowed by nature with excellent abilities, and filled several stations in the Government with great reputation, as speaker of the Assembly, and member of the Council, Commissioner of Property, and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, in which last office he was at the time of his decease, June 4th, 1735. He died suddenly of an apoplexy, in the meeting-house at Germantown, and was immediately brought to the seat of his friend and neighbor, James Logan, where every means were tried for his recovery, but in vain. In 1706, Isaac Norris went, with his wife and eldest daughter, to England, on a visit to their friends; and on their return, my grandfather purchased a large estate in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, where he built a very handsome and commodious house, after the plan of Dolobran in Wales, and called it Fairhill. Here he resided the rest of his life. After his decease, the seat came into the possession of their eldest son, Isaac Norris, who supported, with great credit, the reputation which his father had established.

"'My own father was a very amiable, domestic character, of great sweetness of temper and agreeable manners, flowing from their purest source—a benevolent heart. He was exceedingly beloved by his family and friends, and respected and esteemed by his fellow-citizens. His first wife was Margaret Rodman, daughter of Dr. Rodman, of Bucks County, who died of a decline within a year after their marriage. He was then building his house in Chestnut Street, which he beautified with a large garden, handsomely laid out, according to the taste of the times, with gravelled walks and parterres of flowers, of which it contained a good collection, with fruits of various kinds, the best I ever saw. His sister* lived with him, and took great pleasure in this department. She had also a green-house, well filled with exotics, and a small hot-house, where her gardener produced excellent pine-apples.' After describing minutely this family mansion, she observes: 'The whole house, with its balconies and piazzas, was in its appearance altogether singular, and different from any I ever saw, and in its days of splendor, with its ample plots and garden undiminished, was really a beautiful habitation. It was at that day considered as placed in the western extremity of the city, only two wooden buildings being beyond it, on the same side of the street, above the State House.

"'The view from the western part of the house, up stairs, was of pasture lots, bounded by the Proprietor's Woods.

"'My father lived a widower for about eight years, and in June, 1759, married my mother, Mary Parker, daughter of Joseph Parker, Esq., of Chester, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. She was his only child, and heir to his fortune, which was considerable. Their issue were:

* Deborah Norris.

centre of attraction for all who visited America. Her mother's house, in a social view one of the agreeable mansions of the

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"'1st. Isaac, born July 18th, 1760, (died October 6th, 1802.)

"'2d. Deborah, born October 19th, 1761, (married September 6th, 1780, to Dr. George Logan.)

"'3d. Joseph Parker, born May 5th, 1763, (married to Elizabeth H. Fox, May 20th, 1790.)

"'4th. Charles, born July 12th, 1765, (married to Eunice Gardner, and died at his house, near Norristown, December 24th, 1812.)

"'Charles Norris, my honored father, died at his house in Chestnut Street, January 14th, 1766, and was buried on the 16th, in Friends' burial-ground in Arch Street, in the northeast corner, where many of his family were also laid.

"'My mother was an excellent woman, and of very good abilities. She had received a much better education than was usually bestowed on daughters when she was young. Her mind was enriched by an acquaintance with the best authors, her memory was uncommonly good, her disposition cheerful, and her conversation instructive and very entertaining. She was solid, prudent, affectionate, and benevolent. The manner in which she conducted herself after the decease of her husband, and the very able manner in which she investigated and settled his affairs, secured her the kindest friendship of his family, and the esteem and applause of all who knew her and could judge of the difficulties she had to surmount.

"'She died, December 4th, 1799, at her father's house in Chester, where she resided the last eight years of her life, and was buried on the 6th, in Friends' ground in that place, by the side of her father. Her illness was short but not severe, her mind calm, and her exit apparently easy.

"'My grandfather, Joseph Parker, came over to this country pretty early in the last century. He had received a good English education. His father possessed a freehold estate in Yorkshire, Great Britain, where he was born; but the rigor and hard usage of a mother-in-law forced him to emigrate when young; yet he loved his half-brother, her son, and used to please himself with the thought that he left the entail of his father's estate to him, who would be thus benefited by his absence.

"'Upon his arrival, he landed at Chester; and Judge Lloyd, who lived there, took him into his office as his secretary. His integrity and good conduct soon made him respected, and he acquired property, not, as it is now, by speculation, and overreaching of others, but by honest industry and prudence. He enjoyed afterward many public offices in the country, and was much respected by his fellow-citizens and by the Government. After some years, he married Mary Ladd, the daughter of a respectable family in West Jersey, and received with her a suitable portion. But this happiness did not last long, for she died five days after giving birth to her first child, who was my honored mother.' To her our great-grandfather devoted himself: he never

town, where strangers were invited and were hospitably entertained, frequently presented an odd mixture of characters: the

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married again; and our mother, in her memoir says: 'They lived together in a harmony and friendship the most delightful. I have frequently heard her speak of the happiness of her early life: the state of society in which they lived, the sociability, kindness, and good neighborhood that was among them seemed to realize the idea of the golden age. He died at his house in Chester, the 21st of May, 1766, and was buried in Friends' burial-ground belonging to that place.'

"The above extracts are from manuscripts of our dear mother, written, as she says, 'for my posterity.' Much more, of an interesting nature to us, is contained in those pages; but in wishing to give some incidents relative to the family from which she is descended on both sides, I fear that the proper limits may be already exceeded in the detail.

"How much do I regret that an autobiography of herself is not mine to turn to! Hers was a life not full of startling events, but a beautiful picture of one who passed through its varied scenes, adorning the precepts she taught by her own bright example.

"She was, as has been said, the only daughter of her father's second marriage. Schools were, in that day, very different from the present — few in number, though perhaps bearing a tolerable comparison with the then population. To one of these, kept by the excellent Anthony Benezet, our mother was indebted for all her acquirement at school; and I have heard her frequently say that, full of life and glee, she found, upon leaving that good man's instruction, she had not made the most of her time spent under his care; though he so entirely appreciated her forming character, even at that early period, that, when on any occasion obliged to vacate his seat as head of the department, he would call 'Norris' to take his place, being fully aware that the natural gayety of her disposition, which often was indulged in to the delight of her companions, would at once be set aside for the trust reposed in her.

"Soon after leaving school, her own fine understanding convinced her that she must enter upon a regular course of home education, which she at once commenced, and pursued with such interest and industry that I have heard her say she gained more in a short time than she had ever done at school. To this decision she was indebted for the love of literature which was afterward so beautifully carried out in her every-day life.

"I feel that it is not for me to do other than throw together some dates and extracts, which I hope will be useful, should any sketch be given to the public of her whose character is so entirely worthy of a perfect delineation.

"She was married to Dr. Logan in 1781, when, after spending a few years in Philadelphia, he relinquished his practice as a physician there, and removed to Stenton, which was ever after their place of residence.

plain and honest countryman often met the polished and courtly foreigner. The following anecdote, which we transcribe from

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"All her tastes were for a rural retirement, which she was eminently calculated to enjoy; and while everything in her household was arranged and attended to with the most scrupulous exactness, it was her happy faculty to find time *for all;* and years were added to her valued life by her habit of early rising, and employing the time gained from sleep in the most useful manner. When copying the correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, etc., she would not permit that voluminous work to interfere with her daily occupations, but chose the 'early hours' for her work, when others slept. In one of her poetical effusions, written December 6th, 1814, she apostrophizes the 'Hour of Prime.' I leave to her own graphic pen the picture. 'Recollections, Inscribed to my Husband during a Fit of Sickness,' is a beautiful specimen of her *style* in poetry, though perhaps too personal for the public. 'A Sonnet, (Retirement,) written some Years since,' is another.

"I have always regretted that so fine a poetical talent as hers undoubtedly was, should have been so seldom employed. That her muse never left her, we find from those beautiful lines 'Written in Old Age.'

"As to her productions in prose, the editorial remarks affixed to the 'Correspondence,' her memoir of her husband, etc., I should suppose, would be sufficient to give a correct impression of her style. The 'Recollections' exhibit that patriotic zeal which made her enthusiastic in her country's cause: a zeal the growth of a lifetime. An extract from her diary alludes to a momentous period in our history, and evinces the deep interest taken at the early age of 15, which was nearly hers, in its most critical state. The date is July 9th, 1826:

"'How a little time spreads the veil of oblivion over the manner of the most important events! It is now a question of doubt at what *hour* or *how* the Declaration of Independence was given to the people.*

* [Several different statements have been made as to the place from which, and the person by whom the Declaration of Independence was first read to the people. One writer asserts that it was read from the steps of the tower, another from the south window of the same, another from the front steps of the building. All these accounts are wrong. The accurate Christopher Marshall, who was present on the occasion, sets both these questions at rest. He says, in his "Remembrances," under date of July 8th, 1776: . . . . "Warm, sunshine morning. At eleven, went and met [the] Committee of Inspection at [the] Philosophical Hall; went from there in a body to the lodge; joined the Committee of Safety, (as called;) went in a body to [the] State House yard, where. in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independency, was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas. The King's arms were taken down in the court-room, State House, [at the] same time. From there, some of us went to B. Armitage's tavern; stayed till one. I went and dined at Paul Fooks's; lay down there after dinner till five. Then he and the French engineer went with me on the commons, where the same was proclaimed at each of the five battalions. . . . . — *Christopher Marshall's Remembrances,* edited by WILLIAM DUANE, JR. Philada., 1839.

This account, it will be seen, is confirmed by Mrs. Logan, who stood, on Fifth Street,

the "Life of Humphrey Marshall," by the late Dr. Darlington, the eminent botanist and naturalist of Chester County, will pleasantly illustrate our statement:

Perhaps few now remain that heard it read on that day, but of that few I am one. Being in the lot adjoining to our old mansion-house in Chestnut Street, that then extended to Fifth Street, I distinctly heard the words of that instrument read to the people, (I believe, for I did not see the reader,) a low building being on Fifth Street which prevented my sight; and I think it was Charles Thomson's voice. It took place a little after 12 at noon; and they then proceeded down the street, (I understood,) to read it at the Court House.

"'It was a time of fearful doubt and great anxiety with the people, many of whom were appalled at the boldness of the measure; and the first audience of the Declaration was neither very numerous nor composed of the most respectable class of citizens; though there is no mistake in saying that the Revolution itself was, (I believe,) in all the States, the work of the best informed and most efficient men; but then they only looked in general to their resistance to the tyranny of the Government, inducing an abandonment of its obnoxious designs, as had been the case with the Stamp Act. At first, all disclaimed any wish to separate. Affection to the mother country was cherished, as the *amor patriæ* of every American; but she violently forced us from her side, and compelled us, in self-defence, to break the degrading yoke. I have heard, from a source that I cannot doubt, that Dr. Franklin himself, who had then recently returned from England, was for putting off the Declaration, to gain more time to meet its difficulties.'

"I am induced to make the above extract, as showing the vivid impressions made upon her at so early a period, when, I think I have

upon the fence belonging to her father's garden, at a point, of course, to the south of the southern wall of the hall of the American Philosophical Society, but whose view was obstructed by a frame building, which was probably some structure built on Independence Square. It is also confirmed by John Adams, who was present and heard the Declaration read, and in a letter describes the reading as having taken place from that "*awful platform*" — words which had a deep significance, when we consider the perilous position of those who signed the instrument. We recollect having met this letter in the course of an examination, made at the wish of Mr. P. F. Rothermel, who proposed "The Reading" as the subject for a painting, and afterward gave the world one of the most successful of his works, of which this was the theme. Our own search and that of Mr. Rothermel have failed to recover the printed copy of this letter.

The "platform" to which we refer was erected at the expense of the American Philosophical Society, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, which took place on the 3d of June, 1769 — "a phenomenon seen but twice before by any inhabitant of our earth, and which could never be seen again by any person then living."

The late Mr. Thomas Pratt, who died in 1869, at the great age of 95, perfectly remembered this structure; and in a conversation with the editor, a few weeks before his death, described it to him as a rough wooden stage, which stood on the line of the eastern walk, about midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets. It was used for many years as a place from which speakers were in the practice of addressing popular assemblies. — Editor.]

"In those days of unaffected hospitality," says the biographer, "it was the custom with country people, when they went to 'town,' to stop, without ceremony, at the houses of their city friends. The residence of Mrs. Norris was usually the city house of Humphrey Marshall, when he visited Philadelphia. It was also a favorite resort of polished society, whether residents or strangers.

"On one occasion, when a French gentleman of distinction was among the visitors, Humphrey Marshall, in all his old-fashioned plainness and simplicity, arrived. Mrs. Norris's daughter Deborah (afterward the accomplished wife of Dr. George Logan) gracefully received her venerable friend from the country, and with the address of a well-bred lady introduced him to the distinguished stranger, although not without some misgivings from the apparent want of congruity in the parties thus brought together. She was much gratified, however, to observe that they soon became closely engaged in conversation; and after they separated, the French gentleman, with an air of lively interest, inquired: 'Miss Norris, have you many such men as this Mr. Marshall among you?'"

Mrs. Logan possessed a mind no less formed to instruct than to please. Uniting perfect ease with dignity, fascination of manner with refinement of sentiment, it was not a matter of surprise that her society should be sought.

Her pen did not engross to the exclusion of domestic duties, but she always found time for her literary pursuits as well as household affairs. Truly, indeed, do the charms of accomplished women shed their lustre upon those with whom they come in contact!

Watson, the annalist, who was intimately acquainted with Mrs. Logan, has thus very happily delineated her character; and in the correctness of the description, all who had the happiness to know her will heartily unite:

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heard her say, that she was mounted on a fence in the lot, to hear more distinctly what she narrates.

"I refer to her memoir of her husband for *her picture* in married life. I need not add, as the sketch in question will, I hope, be from one who will be so true to the subject as to produce *a whole*, from which we should wish nothing *taken* and nothing *added*.

"She died at Stenton, the 2d of February, 1839, and was interred on the 5th, in the family burial-ground there, which was laid out and planted by her own direction. M. D. L.

"Stenton, September 11, 1851."

"Gentle and modest in her manners, and with a very kind-hearted disposition and liberal mind, she possessed a peculiarly winning grace and ease, strongly expressive of benevolence and polished politeness combined. Her ability to adapt herself to all circumstances and to every occasion of life shone in her actions, with all the grace and purity of Christian love and gentleness; for she was deeply imbued with the Christian affections and graces. To love such a lovely woman was instinctive in all who approached her. She was the delight of the young, and the beloved of the aged. Rarely, indeed, does it fall to the lot of humanity, in old age, to possess so many points of loveliness and goodness worthy to be admired in life and fondly remembered in death."

Mrs. Logan never flattered, but always formed the most favorable opinion that truth would permit; and through life exhibited that uniform propriety of conduct and union of those virtues which ought to characterize her sex.

In 1781, she married Doctor George Logan, a grandson of James Logan, the secretary and confidential friend of William Penn. This marriage proved a very happy one, and gave opportunity to indulge her taste for historical literature, of which she was always remarkably fond. At Stenton, the family seat of the Logans, she found a large mass of valuable papers, relating to the early history of Pennsylvania, in confusion and disorder. They had been very much neglected, and treated as useless waste-paper, and were piled away in the garrets as worthless rubbish, the very room they occupied being bestowed reluctantly. She was not, however, to be discouraged by their unpromising appearance, and mouldy, worm-eaten, and tattered condition, nor with the difficulty of deciphering that which appeared at first as unintelligible as Egyptian hieroglyphics. She devoted many years of her life in collecting, arranging, systematizing, and copying these papers. Many thousand pages of original letters relating to the colonial history were neatly copied, with remarks and annotations; and it may confidently be asserted that no individual now living has an equal knowledge of the character of those who founded the colony or figured in its early history. To her industry, perseverance, and zeal are we indebted for many valuable papers that would otherwise, in all probability, have been lost.

Considering the nature of the materials and their perishing condition, her task was neither inviting nor easy; and it has been well executed, as the manuscript volumes in the possession of the Philosophical and Historical Societies attest. It is a matter of great public importance that these papers were rescued and preserved for public benefit.

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One of the chief, if not the most conspicuous of all her characters, is James Logan himself; for, after Penn, he was the leading man in the colony. In all its important measures he took a conspicuous part, and exhibited on all occasions an independent spirit, great intelligence, and a steady consistency of character, joined to a warm devotion to the interests of the Penn family throughout. He battled manfully for these interests, and was a zealous defender of their rights on all occasions. When it was necessary to defend the province from the apprehended attacks of a foreign enemy, he renounced the peaceful tenets of his own religious Society, and openly and boldly maintained that *defensive war*, in contradistinction to *aggressive war*, was justifiable. When the severity with which he enforced the payment of the quit-rents of the proprietary, and his resistance to the aggression on the rights of Penn, brought him into collision with the Assembly, who, at the instance of David Lloyd, impeached him, he skilfully turned on that body, and retorted that the attack on himself, as an humble individual, was only a feint to the real attack on Penn, his master. Emboldened by the success of his defence, he now determined to retaliate, and fearlessly attacked Lloyd himself, who was not only the speaker of the Assembly, but the great leader of the popular party in the Quaker interest, which clamored so violently.

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As Mrs. Logan lived during the period of our war for independence, she always retained a strong impression of its stirring events. The writer has often heard her recount, with great pleasure and emphasis, many of the soul-stirring scenes and personal incidents of the war; and she loved to dwell, with extreme delight, upon the memory of the times when our ances-

tors buckled on their armor with chivalric alacrity, to defend the rights and liberties of their country.

She possessed also very considerable poetic talent, which was exhibited in many verses that she wrote. Several of these were published in the "National Gazette," whose learned and accomplished editor, Mr. Walsh, speaking of some of her poetry, says: "To the expression of our satisfaction with her muse, we add the tribute of admiration due to a strength of intellect, a copiousness of knowledge, an habitual dignity of thought and manner, and a natural justness and refinement of sentiment."

In the department of our colonial history, Mrs. Logan has obtained just celebrity, and has established a reputation that time will strengthen and confirm. She has won for herself a high fame, as one of the most gifted, pious, and exemplary ladies of her age, and has left a memory which is dear to all who had the pleasure to know her personally.

Her husband, Dr. George Logan, died April 9th, 1821. She survived him many years, and died, February 2d, 1839, at Stenton.

TO THE MEMORY
Of my beloved and honored Grandmother,
DEBORAH LOGAN.
Obiit 2d-mo. 2d, 1839.

"But yesterday, and thou wert bright
As rays that fringe the morning cloud;
Now lost to life, and love, and light,
Wrapt in the winding-sheet and shroud;
And darkly o'er thee broods the pall,
While faint and low thy dirge is sung;
And warm and fast around thee fall
Tears of the beautiful and young."

Oh for a lyre whose heavenly tone
Might breathe a music like thine own!
And for a voice like thine, to fling
Its inspiration o'er the string!
But *thine* has caught a *holier* strain,
And wakes no more for *earth* again!
And that loved voice has joined to raise,
Thro' heaven's high dome, the song of praise:

Hast found, in that refulgent light,
New glories beam upon thy sight;
And, bursting on thy ravished ear,
The strains whose *echo* met thee *here*,
Unfolding to thy cloudless eye
The hidden wonders of the sky,
And to thy deep, expansive soul,
The power to comprehend the whole.

But say, from that bright world of bliss,
If still some thought awakes for this?
If still, in heaven, thy soul can own
The ties which earth had round thee thrown
For those whose severed spirits still
Must feel a vacuum *none* can fill —
For those who tread thy echoing hall,
And list, in vain, thy footsteps' fall?

For those who dwell where *thou* hast dwelt —
For those who kneel where *thou* hast knelt —
For those whose every glance can see
Something that wakes the thought of *thee?*
Thy hearth, thy board, thy vacant chair,
Of *thee* the loved memorials are!
And not a chord our spirits own
But wakes for *thee* its *deepest* tone!

Oh! who that saw thy parting here,
Would shed for *thee* the anguished tear?
Who saw thy heaven-directed eye,
Would keep thee longer from the sky?
Life's *golden* sands for *thee* were run!
The fight was *fought*, the victory *won!*
The *richest* draught 't was thine to *drain*,
And *give* the *glory whence it came!*

Farewell, farewell! — in *heaven*, again
May reunite the severed chain!
But never more on *earth* can shine
A love for *us* so deep as *thine!*
Dearest and honored one, *thy* name
With lustre gilds the scroll of fame!
But *brighter* than its *meteor* ray
The *path thou trod* to *endless day!*

M. N. L.

Stenton, 8th-mo. 5th, 1839.

JAMES LOGAN.[1]

JAMES LOGAN, whose services to the public and to William Penn, the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, were so many and so important, was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, the 20th of the 8th mo., 1674. His family were originally from Scotland, and were very opulent until the Crown seized the estates, alleging that Sir Robert Logan was implicated in the conspiracy of the Earls of Gowrie. His father, Patrick Logan, had received a university education, being designed for the Church, but becoming convinced of the religious principles of the people called "Quakers," he relinquished his profession, and went over to Ireland with his wife, where he settled and educated his children. The abilities of this son must have been early apparent, for he speaks of having attained the Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age; and also that, in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of the Leybourns[2] on mathematics, he made himself master of that science, without any manner of instruction. He had been put apprentice to a considerable linen-draper, in London; but the Prince of Orange landing, and the war in Ireland coming on, before he was bound, he was returned to his parents, and went over with them, first to Edinburgh, and then to London and Bristol. Here, he says, while employed in instructing others, he improved himself in the Greek and Hebrew: he also learned French and Italian, with some Spanish; and he notices that he went three months to a French master to learn the pronuncia-

[1] [Mrs. Logan has entitled this paper, "Some account of the Honorable James Logan, originally written for these selections in 1814." — EDITOR.]

[2] I suppose this to be a small volume entitled "Ludus Mathematicus," by E. W., printed by R. & W. Leybourn, MDCLIV. —L.

tion, without which he was sensible he should never be able to speak it; and this, he says, was the only money he ever paid for instruction; for though he had his course of "Humanity," as it is called, from his father, yet he could safely say that he never gave him the least instruction whatsoever more than he gave to his other pupils. In 1698 he had a prospect of engaging in a trade between Dublin and Bristol, and had commenced it with a good prospect of success, when, in the spring of 1699, William Penn made proposals to him to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his secretary. He submitted this offer to the consideration of his friends, who disagreed in their judgment: himself decided in its favor, and, accordingly, sailed with William Penn, September 3d, 1699, in the Canterbury, Fryers master. Their voyage was prosperous, and they arrived in Philadelphia the beginning of the 10th-mo. (December) following.

The then adverse state of his affairs caused the stay of the Proprietor to be but short; for in less than two years he returned to England, leaving his secretary invested with many important offices, which he discharged with singular fidelity and judgment. He was Secretary of the Province, Commissioner of Property, for some time President of the Council, and afterward Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

Notwithstanding his life was thus devoted to business, he found time to cultivate his love of science, and at length was permitted to enjoy the treasures of knowledge which he had acquired, in a truly dignified retirement, at his seat of Stenton, near Germantown. He corresponded with the literati in various parts of Europe, and received at his house all strangers of distinction or repute who visited Pennsylvania. He was also the patron of ingenious men, and constantly exerted himself to procure for merit its well-earned meed. Dr. Franklin experienced his protection and friendship; and it was to him that Thomas Godfrey[1] first imparted his ideas of the celebrated

[1] Godfrey was by trade a painter and glazier, and employed in his business at Stenton, when, by accidentally observing a piece of fallen glass, an idea presented itself to his reflecting mind, (perhaps long before occupied on such subjects.) He left his scaffold, and, going

quadrant, which ought to bear his name instead of that of Hadley. The instrument was submitted to the inspection of James Logan, who procured it to be taken to sea; and finding its usefulness, greatly exerted himself, though without effect, to have the merit of the invention and its promised reward secured to its real author.

The confidence which William Penn reposed in the abilities and integrity of his secretary is abundantly evinced in his letters to him. Fidelity, integrity, and disinterestedness were eminently conspicuous in his character, which was indeed of that sterling worth that needs no meretricious ornament.

The aborigines, whose concerns were consigned to his care by William Penn, paid an affecting tribute to his worth, when in his advanced age they entreated his attendance on their behalf at a treaty held at Philadelphia, in 1742, where they publicly testified by their chief, Cannassatego, their satisfaction for his services and sense of his worth; calling him a wise and good man, and expressing their hope that when his soul ascended to God, one just like him might be found for the good of the province and their benefit.[1]

Besides his published works, there is an Essay on Moral Philosophy, still extant in manuscript, and letters on a variety of subjects, which show the deep research of which the mind of this great man was capable; and it is pleasing to reflect that,

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into the library, took down a volume of Newton. James Logan entering at this time, and seeing the book in his hand, inquired into the motive of his search. He was exceedingly pleased with Godfrey's ingenuity, and from that time became his zealous friend. He procured a skilful person to try the quadrant at sea; and finding it to answer their most sanguine expectations, endeavored, by writing to his friends in England, and to Sir Hans Sloan, then President of the Royal Society, to get the reward offered by that institution secured to Godfrey, in opposition to Hadley, who, it was supposed, had obtained a description of the instrument from his nephew, who, it was recollected, had seen it in the West Indies, where it had been taken for further trial, and had been shown, with exultation, by the captain, to some captains of the navy and other gentlemen there. Such is the tradition in his family. James Logan asserts, in a letter to one of his friends, that Godfrey's discovery was two years prior to Hadley's. — L.

[1] He often had the Indians for his guests at Stenton, three or four hundred of them at a time, for several weeks.

although he suffered more than the usual infirmities of age, (having injured himself severely by a fall, some years before,) yet his mind was sustained in undiminished strength. He was eminently happy in domestic life, his wife being a most amiable lady, and his children dutiful and affectionate. After a retirement of several years from public business, he finished his useful and active life at his seat at Stenton, October 31st, 1751, having just entered into the 77th year of his age.

He left the valuable library which bears his name, a legacy to the public — such at least was his intention, and his children after his death fulfilled the bequest.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY MRS. LOGAN.

THE affairs of Europe, about the time of the commencement of this correspondence, were far from being in a state of tranquillity; toward the latter part of King William's reign, he was made extremely uneasy by the prosecution of some of his ministers and particular favorites, of which, perhaps the Earl of Portland was chief. Lord Somers, afterward the Chancellor, the Earl of Oxford, Treasurer of the Navy, and the Earl of Halifax, were all impeached, to the King's great vexation. In France, Louis XIV. were taking vast strides toward universal monarchy, and plots and intrigue was busy for the restoration of James the Second to the crown of England. The Republic of Holland had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, and the tempest of war seemed ready to burst over Europe. America now appeared as a sure and safe asylum from these troubles, as well as from the intolerance of religious persecution; yet it will appear from these letters that they had their difficulties and vexations to contend with, a thing I believe inseperable from human affairs in any age or nation.

The first settlement of Pennsylvania, notwithstanding these feuds, has always conveyed to my mind the idea of another Golden Age.

A short time previous to the arrival of William Penn, in 1699, the city of Philadelphia had been visited by that dreadful calamity the yellow fever, which carried off a great many of the inhabitants. The following extract of a letter from Isaac Norris, sent to his friend Jonathan Dickinson, in Jamaica, is inserted here, as giving some account of their situation at that time.[1] "In my last I advised something of it being sickly here, which affliction it has pleased the Almighty and Allwise God still to continue very sorely upon us, which causes many to bow before him. There is not a day nor a night has passed for several weeks but we have the account of the death or sickness of some friend or neighbor. It hath been sometimes very sickly, but I never before knew it so mortal as now."

"About ten days ago, there was reckoned nine persons lay dead at

[1] Leed's Almanac, printed by Wm. Bradford at New York, in 1694, has the following note among the memorabilia for October: "'Tis now eleven years since Andrew Griscom built the first (brick) house in Philadelphia. Charles Thomson, Esq, now living, says he was one of a committee appointed to number them, when they amounted to fifteen hundred." — L.

the same time, and I think seven or eight this day lay dead together. I cannot reckon at this juncture all to thee: my last advised of several of our friends. The last then interred was Abraham Hardiman;[1] "since which we have buried of our friends, Hester Hoskins, George Fox, Thomas and Sarah Smith, and their son Nathaniel Harden, William Allowāy, John Lephton, Deborah and Nathaniel Dean, William Trotter, Robert Jones, wife, son, Daniel Smith, Stephen Colman, and many others, among whom is Matthew Pidgeon, Ann Coxe, Thomas Jobson, Hugh Hall, William Douglass, wife, both buried to-day, Edward Robeson, and Daniel Cook, and wife, with many others."

"Thomas Clayton, minister of the Church of England, died at Sassafras, in Maryland, and here is another from London in his room, happened to come very opportunely."

"Aaron Atkins lays ill, but, we hope, on recovery, though very few recover. Thomas Rich, and my ingenious Robert Tate, I think will hardly either live till morning — our dear friends Thomas Duckett with wife and daughter all ill — so is Elizabeth Martin, Richard Gove, and wife, William Hanwood, Mary Grey, and several others. James Dilworth died on 7th-day last."

"Roger Gill, Thomas Story, and Samuel Jennings, all came to Burlington from the eastward, last 7th-day; and poor Roger, hearing of our deep affliction, could not be easy until he saw us, was yesterday and this day (being a youth's meeting) here, and the Lord was with us very sweetly and powerfully; and this sweetens all, that we feel the Almighty still near us, to our souls' comfort in our meetings, if we truly and humbly seek his face. I must say, it has been, and is, my great comfort under all."

"All business and trade down." (Dated Philadelphia, 11th 7th-mo., 1699.)

A postscript to the letter says: "This is quite the Barbadoes distemper; they void and vomit blood."

"This has been, about harvest time, the hottest summer I ever felt: several died in the field with the violence of the heat — the harvest generally well got in." — I. N.

Some further extracts respecting the state of things in Philadelphia about that time:

"We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be

[1] His daughter, Deborah Claypoole, lived to a great age. I have seen and conversed with her in my early youth, who could remember the city when trees and bushes were yet remaining uncleared in Market and Front Streets, at the corner where the Old Coffee House stood. She was upward of 90 when she died. — L.

Kidd's men. Shelley, of York, has brought to these parts some scores of them; and there is sharp looking out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the Capes. There was landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several gone to York.

A sloop has been seen cruising off the capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoke with several."

24th 6th-mo., 1699.

"This day arrived the Britannia from Liverpool with passengers. She brought out about 200, but being 13 weeks at sea, has lost about 50, and many now very sick and weak. Our dear friend Thomas Murgrave died about a fortnight ago: his poor disconsolate widow and her four children are left on shore at Elsinborough."[1]

A price current is annexed, which says: "Muscovado sugar at 65*s.* to 70, and now scarce, tho' you know a little serves this place, when 't is too dear to ship off again."

PHILADELPHIA, *15th Xbr.*, 1699.

"Last first-day our proprietor arrived with his wife and family, all well. He is hearty and hale, received with much joy by the major and better part of the inhabitants."

"The same day arrived Captain Cooper, with 120 passengers, from Bristol, all well."

"We have had this year 7 ships from England, some of them 300 tuns."

Same date.

Speaking of the sale of some merchandise which he hoped would be better effected "when this great cry of extreme plenty would be over; for we never had such a quantity of goods in one year since I knew the country."

"Our place through great mercy very healthy again, and an extraordinary moderate and open fall." ISAAC NORRIS.

[1] [So called after the Swedish fort "Elsinboro'," which stood at or near the mouth of Salem Creek, N. J. — EDITOR.]

Penn and Logan Correspondence.

Copy of a Petition from Conodahto, King of the Susquehanna or Conostogo Indians, and of Mecallona, King of the Shawnees, against Sylvester Garland, Jonas Askin, and James Reed.[1]

To the Right Honorable William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of the Province and Territories of Pennsylvania, the humble petition of Conodahto, King of the Susquehanna Indians, and Mecallona, King of the Gavino Indians, in behalf of themselves and their people, humbly showeth:

THAT, last fall, four strange Indians came, from the northward, amongst them; and which they did suppose, from their clothing, to have been servants to some Christians; and the said Mecallona, coming to discourse with them, found one woman, with her son, to be nearly related to the King of the Naked

[1] [It does not appear what action was had upon this petition. The Colonial Records do not mention the name of Reed or Askin. This distinction is reserved for Sylvester Garland. He was from Newcastle, and, at a time subsequent to the date of this petition, (in September, 1701,) was arrested, and brought before the Council, upon the complaint of another chief of the Shawnees, for having brought to the settlement several anchors of rum; and, pretending, as before, "that he was sent by Penn, he gave one cask as a present from the governor, upon which, being entreated to drink, they were afterwards much abused." Garland was discharged, upon giving his bond that he would "neither sell or barter any strong liquor to the Indians at any Indian town or other place in the woods." The prevention of the abuse of this traffic was one of the earliest subjects of provincial legislation; and then and since, and here as elsewhere, the most prolific source of difficulty with the unfortunate race. — Editor.]

Indians, and he took her home to his house, and kindly entertained her and her son, intending, with the first opportunity, to redeem her from her master, and return her and her child safe to her relations, hoping thereby to settle a lasting peace with the said Naked Indians, which might have been of great importance to the petitioners, as well as the inhabitants of this government, they being a powerful nation; and hath often molested these petitioners, as well in their towns at Susquehanna, as in their hunting-quarters — these petitioners being the frontier inhabitants of this government. Now, so it is, that, last winter, came Sylvester Garland and Jonas Askin to the petitioners, and produced a paper with a large seal, and pretended it was a warrant from the governor, for to require them to deliver the said Indians; but Mecallona, one of these petitioners, not believing the same to be true, refused to deliver the said Indians. Nevertheless, the said Garland and Askin, about ten days after, came again, along with James Reed, and then produced another paper with a large seal, and again demanded the said Indians in the governor's name, and affirmed that the said Reed was the next man to the governor; and, to confirm the same, the said Reed put off his wig, and said: "You may see, by this, I am a great man, for that I have two heads." Nevertheless, one of the petitioners, Mecallona, did not believe them, nor give credit to their words, still believing all that they said to be false pretences, and all for the love of gain, and still refusing to deliver up the said Indians, for the same reasons. Whereupon, the said Sylvester, Reed, and Askin threatened the said petitioners that they would return, and come again with six hundred men, and cut off these petitioners, with all their families, for that they had refused to obey the governor's order, and the demand of him by Reed, his second man in the government, which put this petitioner, Mecallona, in such fear that he delivered up to them the Indians that were with him.

Conodahto, King of the Susquehanna Indians, complains that, he and all his men being abroad, Sylvester Garland came to his town, and demanded the two Indians that were in his custody, and said they were his servants; but the women answering him that they did not believe him, and for that reason would not

deliver them, the said Sylvester threatened that he would bring forty men, and carry them all away, and make servants of them all; then, riding away in great fury, two of the Indian dogs followed him, which dogs he shot dead, upon the place, with pistols, to the great terror of the women; and, about ten days after, returned with James Reed, and said that man was their master, which he, the said Reed, affirmed, and said he had paid much money for them, and laid down several match-coats, which he said he would give them for taking them up; but the women, not believing that the said Reed was their true master, refused to deliver them, and conveyed the woman away; whereupon, the said Garland laid hold on one of the chief of the women with violent hands, and threatened to carry her away and make her a servant, which, being put in great fear, she was forced to do, although they had great cause to believe she did not belong to them; all which deportment and threatenings hath put these petitioners and their people into such fear that, ever since, they have been wholly unsettled, and have not made, to this day, any preparation for planting their corn, but have continued in a moving posture, in fear of being cut off, and that without any just cause given by them. But, having been faithfully informed of the governor's love, good will, and favor, towards the rest of the inhabitants of this government, as well Indians as Christians, have reason to hope to receive at least an equal share of favor and protection under him as the rest of our brethren; and, with that confidence, pray that it may please the governor to accept of us as his true friends, and afford us future relief and protection, as true subjects and faithful friends may reasonably expect from so honorable and virtuous a governor as thy actions hath hitherto proclaimed thee, and therein shall forever command us,

Thy true servants, and faithful friends,

CONODAHTO, ⋈ his ⋈ mark.

The mark *⁎* of *⁎* MECALLONA.

Dated at Brandywine,
1st 3d-mo., 1700.

Isaac Norris to Philip Ford.[1]

13th 4th-mo., 1700.

. . . . Our assembly, after a monthly sitting and hot debate, broke up, and did little more than deliver up and vote out the charter. A bill was prepared to give our governor three pounds tax, but opposed and voted out — I think, very unhandsomely. They have given him, indeed, an impost upon liquors, which some of them magnify to £1000 per annum, because they would seem to come off with flying colors; but I do not think it worth one half the money. Experience will show.

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury,[2] *23d 5th-mo.*, 1700.

I have thine with another. I am concerned my leg is so little encouraging for a journey, and John is not here to mow; how-

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

[2] [Pennsbury House was built, in the manor of that name, upon a bend of the River Delaware, and about eight miles northeast of Bristol, Bucks County, being the easternmost point of Pennsylvania. The land was of excellent quality, and the situation exceedingly pleasant. The house was standing since my memory, and some of the old furniture in it, though in a very neglected and decayed condition. For a long time, an apartment was kept there for the agent of the family when he visited the estate, and he described the beds and linen as having been excellent. When I was a child, I remember going with my mother to visit one of her friends who had made a pilgrimage to Pennsbury, and had brought away, as a relic, a piece of the old bed-spread from the house, which was then standing. It was of holland, and closely wrought with the needle, in a small pattern, with green silk, and was said to have been the work of William Penn's daughter, Letitia. Some years afterwards, during the Revolutionary War, a person of my acquaintance was there when the house had fallen in, and was in ruins, a hedge pear-tree growing among them. I have since seen the situation, but nothing of the mansion remained, the materials having been taken away; an old malt-house and some other out-buildings still remained; also an avenue of walnut-trees, planted along the road. There are beautiful islands in the river, which here makes a considerable bend. I thought the situation very agreeable. The mansion was represented as having been large and handsome for the time in which it was built; the frames and other work were brought from England. The roof was of lead, and probably supplied a leaden cistern; from which cir-

ever, I purpose to be in town, if I can, to-morrow; if not able to be there by 5, afternoon, must submit to Providence, and desire 4 of the Council, the collector, and minutes and witnesses to come hither, which they may do by my barge, which I will send to Burlington for them, where they may come in a Burlington boat to-morrow by 12, and be here by two. However, let John have the coach ready, and horses to put in it, that, if I come, I may be helped home. I accept of Ann P.'s care and love. Salute me to the commissioners, and council, and friends. We are else well, and pleased in our retreat. I took *sal. mirabl.* to-day and yesterday. Vale. W. P.

Half the five gallons of rum ran out, at Philadelphia, in the boat, as they say. If I am not with you to-morrow, by eleven or five, let the Indians come hither; but send, in the boat, white bread, more rum, the match-coats. Let the council adjourn to this place. If I come not, here will be victuals, and they may lie at Burlington. I wrote part of this upon the bed.

Hannah Penn to James Logan.[1]

Philadelphia, *2d 6th-mo.*, 1700.

Thou wilt by this time have mine of yesternight, and although John tells my husband of bricks prepared by I. Redman, yet he

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cumstance, doubtless, arose the tradition, which I remember to have heard, that there was a fish-pond at the top of the house. The garden was large, and laid out with parterres and good fruit-trees. — L.

[1] [This letter is one of a series from the wife of the Proprietary, which treats of domestic concerns, and which Mrs. Logan has seen fit to admit into the collection. Although some of the matters mentioned may at first glance appear trivial, yet the reader, we think, will upon reflection agree with Mrs. Logan in her opinion expressed in a subsequent note, where she resents the criticism of a friend who thought some of the topics named too homely for publication.

The correspondence presents an interesting picture of the times, and of the daily cares and duties incident to a life, one hundred and seventy years ago, in a comparative wilderness.

Penn was deeply attached to his first wife, and never ceased to cherish her memory. No choice could therefore have been happier than when for a second marriage he selected Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill. Gentle, practical, sensible, sagacious, and affectionate, she trained her children with tenderness and wisdom, and

inclines to let E. James finish the room which his men have begun, by which time he will have worked up the stuff already here, and may be dismissed with less exception, so that I. Redman's son may come back with my husband, time enough for the work that remains to be done, and by that time he may get lime also; as for bricks, let him get no more than he has already bespoke, for my husband is informed he may have these of a new maker at Burlington, a crown a thousand cheaper, and as much better, besides less charge in bringing. We are much concerned that John has forgot Lucy; pray let Jane Streeter take care of her.

There is a gallon of linseed oil more wanting, and three of grain oil, which it seems will serve to use without doors; my husband says he has it of his own. We are concerned to hear thou art not well — would have thee to take care of thyself.

Send the deal boards without fail from John Parson's, to Samuel Jennings at Burlington. Nothing else at present from thy friend, H. Penn.

Superscribed to James Logan, Secretary to the Governor of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Hannah Penn to James Logan.

My husband's dissatisfaction with E. James is, that he 's too much a gentleman, for he told Wm. Corker, with great displeasure, that he admired at his choice in bringing such an one, that must have two servants to such a job of work; that one good workman had been sufficient, and would have finished all there is, with half the charge that he has already put him to; he is astonished at his desire of ten pounds in part, having had eight pounds before, and the whole work, bricks and all, seem not worth so much; he 's ready to forbid his coming again, but yet, since his man by his order has begun in my husband's absence to take away the ground joining of the out-house,

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when in his declining years the mind of her husband was darkened by a cloud never to be dispelled, assumed the entire charge of his public and private affairs. — Editor.]

which we much want to have done, my husband would have him come on second-day without fail, because he intends to go hence again third morning.

We expect John Sotcher[1] to-morrow: if he brings Lucy, 't is well; if not, let her be kindly used till my husband's return, which he intends on second-day or third morning; but if thou hear of any demur, or that the Indians are not like to be there third-day, send an express hither on second-day, and pray send by the first boat the deal boards from John Parsons, and our dog-wheel,[2] not else; but desire thou wilt let me hear of all opportunities for England, and of any considerable news thence; which will be kindly taken by thy

Lo: friend, HANNAH PENN.

We are all indifferent well. Let not Jack[3] go till the Indians have been there; and get indian meal for mush against they come. Pray send a pound or two of chocolate, if to be had.

PENNSBURY, *2d 6th-mo.*, 1700.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *6th 7th-mo.*, 1700.

JAMES:—I have, and my wife, thine; and meeting them five miles from this place, returned. I only repent my return for W. Clark's sake, and partly that I missed T. Fairman: the first I would see and authorize to receive my rents, and bills for what cannot be had, for Kent and Sussex; and T. Fairman, for that I hear an Indian township called Tohickon,[4] rich land, and much cleared by the Indians, he has not surveyed to mine and children's tract, as I expected. It joins upon the back of my manor of Highlands, and I am sorry my surveyor-general did not in-

[1] Served the proprietor in many capacities, and was afterward left in the care of Pennsbury. He was a faithful servant and a respectable man. In 1722, he was chosen to represent the county of Bucks in the Assembly of the Province.—L.

[2] A wheel in a box, to roast meat; a turnspit dog performed the office.—L.

[3] The cook, as I suppose, who would be much wanted for such visitors.—L.

[4] [In the county of Bucks.—EDITOR.]

form me thereof, for which cause he shall never survey a foot more; but I will know *where* and *what*, by him or his deputies. I feared a surprise, told him so, and now find it to my great dissatisfaction; but for the future shall prevent it. If it be not in thy warrants, put it in, except lands already or formerly taken up, or an Indian township. The Indians have been with me about it.

Next, pray speak for 3000 or 4 of bricks, and tell I. Parsons I expect his 150 foot of boards three months sooner, and pay for them. Also a load or 30 bushels of lime, and let them be ready by 6th night if possible, to be here by the flat on 7th day, or 2d day, and two of my folks shall come in the little boat to bring it up. One of the boys of Ed. James has left him, the best; so the charge is not so great, and he will work up his stuff to-night or to-morrow, and I then think to dismiss him. I. Redson may come up, if the flat brings up brick and lime, 2d or 3d day at furthest.

Fail not to send up a flitch of our bacon, and by all means chocolate, if to be had, and a cask of middling flour, from Samuel Carpenter or I. Norris, and some coffee-berries,[1] four lbs. Some flat and some deep earthen pans for milk and baking, which Betty Webb can help thee to, and cask of Indian meal; search Lumbey's goods, search for an ordinary side-saddle and pillion, and some coarse linen for towels.

We are as well as the heat will let us, but my leg still out of order and swelled still about my ankle.

I shall be glad to see William Clark; but for fear not, shall send by the boat an order, or letter, or commission to that effect.

I could be glad twenty boards more might be had to come with the flat; if not so dry, forty green rather than none.

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[1] A great rarity at that time, though now in such general use; it was then all brought from Arabia. Witsen, Governor of Batavia, procured seed from Mocha, and raised plants from them in 1690; and in 1714, the magistrates of Amsterdam sent Louis XIV. the present of a plant with flowers and fruit, in a curious machine covered with glass; and in 1714, the Dutch colony at Surinam first began to plant coffee;* the French in Martinico not till 1727. — L.

* [It is said to have been first used in England in 1652, and in France in 1699. See *Encyclopædia Americana*. — EDITOR.]

Pray examine closely about those that fired upon the Indians, and frighted them by Dan. Pegg's,[1] it is of moment to us, and if true, roguishly designed, I doubt not, and shall be severely punished.

Send six ounces of oil of turpentine, unless dear; then, three.

Captain Hans stays: we have adjusted the matter. Encourage Helcoquean, and give him ten bits to fetch down the Indians, if they desire; else not, assure them of friendship. Vale.

W. P.

I had Governor Guy's obliging letter.

I have sent W. Clark's order about accounting with Kent and Sussex as to what rents are payable, to receive what is due in good coin or bills, which give him for that purpose.

Let us have four dozen of square hearth tiles, with the rest of the things. Vale. W. Penn.

Let me know the last day of John Askew's[2] stay; also, if they will take a couple of young tame foxes.

William Penn to James Logan.

The 22d day of 6th mo., 1700.

Draw a warrant for the laying out of 500 acres of land to Martha Hatton, the daughter of William Hatton, deceased, in right of James Harrison, that it may be ready for me to sign when I come down. Put into all warrants for townships, when laid out to be of land never surveyed before, and next adjoining to former townships, adding: "He taking out his patent for the same within three months after the return made into thy office." Take care also that I have 500 acres in every township that is

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[1] In the Northern Liberties, where his estate lay. Pegg's Run was named from him. — L.

[This was in the immediate vicinity of Front and Willow Streets. Pegg's Run flows through a culvert along the line at Willow Street. — Editor.]

[2] John Askew was a merchant of considerable account in London; he transacted much business with my grandfather, Isaac Norris, also with James Logan, Jonathan Dickinson, and with the most respectable merchants here; he was in this country at the time of the Proprietor's arrival. — L.

laid out, and that the surveyor do me right therein. Forget not the black walnut; and ask Captain Hill about a carpenter. Samuel Jennings has bought two; I would have liked to have had one of them; three months' pay for one would purchase one; or a joiner, if sober.

Send me up one of Samuel Carpenter's compasses for the woods, to steer by and take courses, by the first opportunity. Urge the justices about the bridge at Pemepecka and Poquessin, forthwith for a carriage, or I cannot come to town. I. Redson would be expeditious in it, if pressed as from me. I hope you all got well home.

Vale. WILLIAM PENN.

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY.

JAMES:—If the Swiss captain be uneasy to stay till next week, fail not to accompany him fourth or fifth day; but you must depend on nothing here but a dinner, and return to Buckingham[1] or Burlington at night, because of company in the house. Endeavor to inform thyself of his inclination, and if practicable encourage it; if not, qualify it; for R. Hill having broke engagements with him, which is not to be palliated with one that knows the world so well, without making the fault wider, makes my husband the more solicitous to have him pleased.

And endeavor to get a passage for the black walnuts in John Askew's ship, instead of ballast, or at any tolerable rate. Let Edward Shippen know his daughters are well, and shall come in our boat with John to-morrow or next day.

Vale. Thy Friend. H. P.[2]

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[1] [The ancient name of Bristol, Bucks, Pa.—EDITOR.]

[2] Note by Mrs. Logan:—I have been a little hurt and disappointed at the slighting and inelegant manner in which my friend Watson, in his "Annals," mentions these notes of the Proprietor and his amiable wife, written from Pennsbury to James Logan: for my own part, I am glad they have been preserved.* They have afforded me a panorama

* [Mr. Watson made ample amends in his Annals for the comments which Mrs. Logan has taken occasion to censure. He constantly acknowledges his obligations to her for valuable information, and speaks in terms of fully warranted praise of her remarkable knowledge of the early history of affairs.—EDITOR.]

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, 31*st 6th mo.*, 1700.

Take of the bearer his penal bond to pay me five pounds in two or three months' time; and write to the magistrates of Newcastle that he has given security to the Proprietor to pay

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of life and housekeeping, incident to a new settlement, to be found as I know nowhere else. And the mixture of affairs of government with the mention of domestic wants and economy is perfectly natural, and would necessarily occur to persons in their situation. "Building in the wilderness, founding and governing an infant colony," without the appliances and means which are now easily procured by the remote settlers in our Western country, was a formidable undertaking. This tracing the history of the past, and contrasting it with that of the present, produces in me a feeling akin to that which must attend the exploration of the fountains of some beautiful and majestic stream, such as Bruce may have experienced at the sources of the Nile—a scene, not of grandeur, but of freshness and verdure. The soldier who stepped across the Missouri was gratified that at length he could do it. And the antiquary, I should think, would in like manner feel a recreation in contemplating the building of Pennsbury, and seeing in fancy the venerable founder there, in the midst of his numerous occupations. A traditionary account, heard in my youth from an aged woman, an inhabitant of the county of Bucks, has just now occurred to my memory. She went, when a girl, with a basket containing a rural present, to the Proprietor's mansion, and saw his wife, a delicate and pretty woman, sitting beside the cradle of her infant.* Oh that a plan only of the house had been preserved!

An incidental mention of things, apparently unintentional, often serves to explain others; as the bringing butter and other things from Rhode Island explains the source of many supplies to the infant colony, and I had hoped the note annexed to the mention of coffee-berries, showing how lately the use of that beverage had then been introduced into Europe itself, would have prevented surprise at the question, "If to be had in town." The Dutch did not begin to raise coffee at Surinam until 1714: all that was then used was imported from Arabia.

The rapid view which the mind takes of things has hurried me through the space between the time of writing this note and that of my copying it. The vast and rapid extension of our commerce during that period, makes me desirous of stating a fact that few remember; which is, that on the 5th of November, 1783, the first vessel that sailed from Philadelphia to the East Indies was launched. I have forgotten her

* John Penn, son of the Proprietor by his second wife, was born shortly after the arrival of his parents in Pennsylvania, as I find by the following extract of a letter: "(Tuesday) 31st 11th mo., 1699. Our governor has a son, born last First-day night, and all like to do well."

the fine; upon which that they discharge his goods under seizure, with commendations of their care.

I want a quire of large and small quarto paper, per first (opportunity). The fur, &c., is come, a dear voyage by the boat. Pray, send the paper by first, and let me know John Askew's last day, or his ship's. If the foxes be any inconvenience, pray forbid it, for I am indifferent to send or stay them.[1]

Stop all business from coming hither. Pray inform thyself well of the land bought, or in treaty for, by the Swiss captain, if the title be good, and the price no extortion. I could have been glad of that money in England, for he has some in Matthew Plumsteed's hands. I have his letter by the captain.

We shall want about twelve bushels of lime more, which send off first to Samuel Jennings for me. I. Clement came to-day, and very well. Send up some pewter buttons, or brass, for two coats, also. We are, through mercy, well. Per next, I think, can the Swiss captain.[2] If the bearer behave not amiss, let him be told he shall have the fine remitted, of which the neighborhood is judge. Joseph Growden presses for him, but I will have a character before I do. Vale. WM. PENN.

Send up a plumber with speed; send a flat ink-glass — *a small one.*

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

Fifth day.

Prepare a nervous proclamation against vice. Also advise if one is not fit after Snead, who ran away in my debt, and, I

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name, but she was owned by Robert Morris, and commanded by Captain Bell.*—L.

[1] A couple of young, tame foxes, desired to be sent to England, as a present to one of his friends. —L.

[2] [Sic. —EDITOR.]

* [The newspapers of the day do not mention the incident here stated by Mrs. Logan; nor can we find any subsequent reference to this ship in the list of vessels sailing from the port of Philadelphia. Mr. Watson (2 *Annals*, 339) remarks: "She" — the celebrated frigate *Alliance* — "was the *second* vessel from Philadelphia to Canton; the *Canton*, Captain *Truxton*, being the *first*." — EDITOR.]

suppose in other people's. I intend to write to Governors Nicholson and Blackiston about him, and to Col. Blake, Governor of Carolina.[1] Watch the next English ship for a carpenter, bricklayer, or joiner, and get on board before they land. I should be glad to see Gr. Owen, when he can be spared. I owe R. H. love for his fine cane. Oil we have two gallons come in the flat, broad, or square chest. Vale. W. P.

I am troubled at the manner of A. Bignal's escape, a most impudent slut.

Didst thou ever write the letter to Lumbey's owners? it is very material. Pray see that those goods perish not on our hands. Dispose of what thou canst of the loose ones. I think to see the chest when I come.

Hannah Penn to James Logan.

[*No date but*] *Third-day, forenoon.*

I have so long expected the return of our people and barge,[2] that I am now much concerned at the disappointment, and have sent Sam to Burlington to inquire, and, if he hears not there, to come through to thee. There is much to do before my husband's return, which will, if well, be this week. If the servants had come as intended, I thought to have sent Mary down again for things we much wanted; but as now cannot send her, must desire thee to send the two pair of pewter candle-sticks, some great candles which I bid John bespeak, also some green ones, and a dozen pounds smaller ditto: the largest pewter basin, and buy a new earthen one to wash in, also one of the stands to hold it. Call Betty Webb to thy assistance: let her send two mops to wash house with, four silver salts, and the two-handle porringer that is in my closet, the looking-glass that is in the hall, if it can be carefully put up, the piece of dried beef; and if any ship with provisions come from Rhode Island, I would have thee buy a firkin, two or three, as price and worth

[1] [Nephew of Admiral Blake, and who died in this year. — Editor.]

[2] [The roads between Pennsbury and Philadelphia were bad, and the communication was generally by a barge belonging to the governor, and known as the "governor's barge;" frequent reference to which will be found in these letters. — Editor.]

is, of good butter, also cheese and candles, etc., for winter's store, if any such opportunity presents before our coming down. We are all, through mercy, well here. My husband well to Woodbridge; sets out from New York on 5th day. Nothing else, but my love to thee and friends.

I am thy friend, H. Penn.

P. S. I believe thou hast been sometimes too lonely; mayst expect they will fill the house again about 2d day. If the barge is already come, send the things above mentioned first to S. Jennings.

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, *3d 7th mo.*, 1700.

I did not mean that a proclamation should be prepared by them for me to sign, but to see a draught for me to correct, if I thought fit, in order to propose in council, which yet I would have them to do. I think to be in town the first fair day, and so let Edward Anthill know. I am sorry J. Moor knew and did not tell me; but I fear none of his attempts. He is a great villain everywhere; he dreaded the justice of this government in several cases. Prepare a warrant for Philip Howel, for Liberty land, for one thousand acres, in right of Henry Pawlin's old purchase of Schuylkill side.[1] Send up our great stew-pan and cover, and little soup-dish, and two or three pounds of coffee, if sold in the town, and three pounds of wick, ready spun for candles, per next opportunity. The lime may be kept till our men come up. Lassel is plumber enough; but if thee can get Cornelius Empson's man, and he has tools, send speedily, for the house suffers in great rains for want thereof. If Lassel dares undertake mending of the leads,[2] per first (opportunity) send him up.

Three bundles of skins that Sol. Ward returned are in my

[1] This mixture of affairs of government and interest with domestic wants and orders may occasion, at this time, a smile; but it naturally arose from a state of things in a new-settled country, with everything to attend to. — L.

[2] [The "leads" proved a constant trouble, and the leakage, from their imperfect condition, eventually caused the destruction of the house, which otherwise might have been still standing. — Editor.]

chamber; send one to Billy,[1] the others to my father, Callowhill,[2] and get John Askew to put them in his chest, and give him the enclosed letters also. Vale. W. P.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

5th 7br., 1700.

This is the fourth in two days, and to tell John Moor I would have him get indicted one John Walch of that county for coming into this county and taking hence two strays; one a roan mare and colt, and the other a brown bay gelding—both four years old last spring or thereabouts. 'Twas last 4th month. I have heard often ill of him for driving horses from one county to another, and am much a loser by such fellows and practices. It is too much a practice to think it no fault to cheat the governor.

Prepare a commission for the bearer, and date it from the time I ordered him to pursue his place. Vale. W. P.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

7th 7br., 1700.

Deliver the enclosed to the magistrates, and tell them I desire their immediate care in the town and county, and to send both upwards and downwards with all speed. The weather by water hinders me. My leg is well advanced, and would not throw it back; yet, first fair day, will, God willing, set forward; and had done so sooner, if coach or calash had been here, as the ways are tolerably cut. I send also a package for Governor Blackiston, which must be forwarded per first to the sheriff of Newcastle, to transmit with speed. Vale. W. P.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *14th 7br.*, 1700.

JAMES:—The enclosed I have had a week: it concerns a mandamus I have reason to hearken to. But least it should weaken

[1] His son William, then in England.—L.

[2] The Proprietor's second wife was Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, Great Britain.—L.

my commission to Jo. Moor, inform thyself of him, if that may not be done by Griffith Jones which he prays a mandamus for, without interfering with J. Moor's commission; lose no time therein, that I may not lose my money or lands: I confess I think if J. Moor be there 't is his province. By the bearer thou mayst write to Cornelius Empson. We want rum here, having not a quarter of a pint in the house among so many workmen; best, in bottles sealed down, or it may be drawn and mixed; send by a Burlington boat, except S. Hill carefully carry it to Ann Jennings for us — six quarts; and if an hogshead of lime could be reasonably brought by any boat that comes to the mill at Brock's, as Isaac Norris, etc., or to Burlington, we could send for it, and that would close all for this year, of that nature, we think.

Let Jos. Woods[1] know that I hear Governors Nicholson and Blackiston[2] intend in ten days for Philadelphia; and that I would have him wait upon them with a good number of persons; that he summon to wait at the borders of the county, and conduct them to New Castle, and thence till he meets with the sheriff of Chester County, to whom write to conduct them to the confines of his charge or county, where J. Farmer shall attend them. Let at least twenty persons be ordered for each party; and write to H. Hollingsworth to a little help the sheriff to manage things. The magistrates of each place to give their attendance, some to ride out, some to receive them at alighting. If needful, prepare a draught of an order or letter to each county, and send it me forthwith, as also to lodge them, and immediate servants, at their private houses. The first fair day I intend down. Vale. W. P.

PART OF A LETTER FROM JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, JR.[3]

PHILADELPHIA, 25*th* 7*th mo.*, 1700.

The nature of the Province, its soil and improvements, I need not mention, this being sufficiently done by other hands;

[1] Probably then sheriff of New Castle County. — L.

[2] [Francis Nicholson, Lieut. Governor of New England and New York, and Nehemiah Blackiston, Governor of Maryland. — EDITOR.]

[3] This was the Proprietor's only surviving son by his first wife, Gulielma Maria. This young gentleman was married and remained in England; his wife was the daughter of C. Jones, of Bristol, Eng. — L.

nor the parties and factions that reigned here, thou being, I suppose, sufficiently acquainted with them; so shall only give some hints of the administration, and course of affairs since our arrival.

The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honester party here. Friends generally concluded that, after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted anything more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal damp, yet endeavored what mischief they could by speaking whispers that the Proprietary could not act as governor without the king's approbation, and taking an oath, as obliged by Act of Parliament; but that in a great measure soon blew over. Colonel Quary, judge, and John Moor, advocate of the Admiralty, the two ringleaders, went down to the water-side among the crowd to receive the governor at his landing, who, not seeming to regard the very submissive welcome they gave him, and taking notice of an old acquaintance that stood by them, expected nothing but almost as open hostility from the Proprietary as they were at before with Col. Markham, especially having heard that copies[1] of Col. Quary's letters to the Admiralty at home against the government, were also brought over.

Directly from the wharf the governor went to his deputy's, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence with a crowd attending to meeting, it being about three o'clock on First-day afternoon, where he spoke on a double account to the people, and praying, concluded it: from thence to Edward Shippen's, where we lodged for about a month.

For two or three days the governor seemed to admire at Col. Quary's distance, and perceiving he was not like to come pay a civil visit as might be expected, sent me to him with an inviting compliment, with which he presently complied, and entered into a very familiar conversation with the governor,

[1] Many copies of Col. Quary's charges against the Proprietor, with William Penn's justification of himself and government, are at Stenton. Some of them will appear in this work. — L.

who endeavored to make it appear that he would treat all parties with equal civility and regard in this province that were not directly injurious to him, confessed he believed there was occasion given for the complaint that went home, blamed the mal-administration of affairs in some particulars relative to the king, and resolved to have a hearing of the whole matter before himself and council. The two persons chiefly struck at by Quary were the lieutenant-governor, and David Lloyd, attorney-general, a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment, and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful: he, at that time, was one of the council; and those mighty wrongs that had been put on the king coming to be debated there, David resolutely defended all that had been done, and too highly opposed the governor's resolution of composing all by mildness and moderation, and reconciling all animosities by his own intervention, which he thought the only advisable expedient to put an end to those differences that had cost him so much trouble. This soon created some small misunderstanding: several of the most noted friends were involved more or less in David's business, and though troubled at his stiffness, yet wished him in the right, because the most active enemy and assiduous councillor against the other party, who on all occasions would be glad, they thought, of their utter ruin. This obstinacy the governor could by no means brook; he could not but think there was more deference and consideration due to his character and station. The other knew not what it was to bend; he was engaged in the cause, and would stand or fall by it, offering to plead it at Westminster Hall; but the governor, who was most sensible of the pulse of the court, and affairs in general at home, knew this course would never take, and therefore was sometimes warm enough to inveigh highly against past proceedings, not sparing several in express words that were concerned in them, and laying open in large discourse what would be the consequence if they took not some more effectual ways to satisfy superiors at home, who perhaps would be very well pleased with any occasion, by whatsoever hand administered, to wrench the government out of the Proprietor's hands and throw it on the king.

Friends love to the governor was great and sincere; they had long mourned for his absence, and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their differences, and repair all that was amiss, and . . . . . [Left unfinished.]

William Penn to James Logan.

New York, *1st 8br.*, 1700.

Give my love to Thomas Story, and tell him that I hope he supplies my absence about the laws,[1] what to alter or repeal, and that thou assist him therein. Colonel Nicholson has been very ill, and relapsed once or twice, and thereby our conferences have been retarded, which truly are of great importance to the weal of America. My dear love to friends in general, and particularly tell Hannah Delavall[2] that to be one of her witnesses is not the least motive to hasten me. Tell Thomas Story that Judge Guest[3] salutes him; but no lawyers, I see, is best. News from Boston by ships of six weeks passage and five[4] and three days, say the pretty Duke of Gloucester[5] is dead, which will cause thoughts and fresh measures at home among the grandees. The enclosed is to be given immediately, and a proclamation to lengthen the commencement together of the session to the 20th or 24th, as the council may judge best; or my time will be but small before the session, which will be an hardship upon me. Vale.

Wm. Penn.

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[1] A revision of them, previous to their being sent to England for the royal approbation. —L.

[2] Widow of John Delavall, and daughter of Thomas Lloyd: she afterward married Captain Richard Hill, and it is to being present at their nuptials to which the Proprietor alludes. She was a woman of excellent character and extraordinary endowments, and was much valued by his lady and himself. He elsewhere calls her "Captain Hill's lovely wife." —L.

[3] Guest was a lawyer as well as Thomas Story, and had accompanied the Proprietor to assist at this conference; where, it seems, the latter made the discovery that men of that profession often retard negotiations by a too scrupulous adherence to legal forms, and perhaps the habit of counteracting and contradiction. —L.

[4] [Sic. —Editor.]

[5] Son of Queen Anne; his death opened the way to the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover. —L.

William Penn to James Logan.

First-day, 6th 8br., 1700.

James:—Pay the bearer, Duncan Campbell, twenty-five shillings, in dollars, if thou canst. I am pretty well, and intend for Philadelphia the day before H. Delavall is to be so no more, when I know it, which I expect to hear of to-morrow. However, 3d-day I think of coming, if it may be of the 4th; or that day, if it be on the 5th. Vale. Wm. Penn.

William Penn to James Logan.

[*No date.*]

Be as helpful as may be to the commissioners, and put that letter hard upon our opposite neighbor,[1] for I first lodged my thoughts between T. Story and him. Also, thou gave me not transcript of Governor Hamilton's paper, which pray send per first opportunity.

Give the two Bristol captains a small collation at I. Jones's or Robin's, or where thou wilt, as neat's tongue or the like, and a bottle of wine on my account, if thou seest fit. It seems Prickle went not from New Castle till yesterday, which had I known, I would have written three letters of great importance every way, and rather I had lost one hundred pounds than have missed the opportunity. Vale. W. P.

Hannah Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, *Third-day afternoon* (*Nov.*, 1700).

My husband has been, for some time, especially the two days past, much indisposed with a feverish cold; his sweating, last night, something relieved him, but not so as to be capable of going to town without great hazard of his health, which has prevailed with him to stay till to-morrow, when, if better, he

[1] David Lloyd, who lived in Second Street, nearly opposite the Slate-roof House, is the person, I conjecture, that is here meant; and this was probably the beginning of his machinations against the Proprietor.—L.

intends not to fail of being in town; wherefore he would have the council adjourn, from day to day, till they see him. Also, would have thee tell Thomas Story[1] to read over the laws carefully, and observe their shortness and other defects, with memoranda of directions, especially those about courts of justice, marriage, law of property, unreasonable alienation of fines, &c., and what time thou canst spare he would have thee employ on the same subject; for, after the rising of this assembly, he determines to send the laws for England. And desire Thomas Story to show Judge Guest[2] his draught of the bill for regulating courts; also, do thou, by the first opportunity, send to R. Parmiter for his draught upon the said subject (it may help); and be sure to mind the business of the Maryland sloop, and speak to council or magistrates to consider of a place for the general assembly. The governor understands Joseph Shippen

[1] Thomas Story, I believe, came over to America in 1699. He was a minister in the Society of Friends. The following character of him is taken from a letter of Isaac Norris of that date: "Thomas seems to take much with strangers, as being very intelligible to the most curious observer, and delivers his matter safe from the most captious critic. He was bred a lawyer, but has laid that aside for the gospel. His conversation, as a man, sweet, gentle, and extremely affable; his spirit, as a Christian, extraordinarily humble; and I have observed him to watch even against his own abilities, lest they should appear to exalt him in the opinion of any — but I shall forbear."

He settled in Pennsylvania, where he was master of the rolls and keeper of the great seal. He married Ann Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, and received a very handsome portion with her; but, upon her death, he returned to England.

He was a man of great knowledge and ingenuity, and died in 1742. — L.

[A more extended account of this very able and remarkable man may be found in 1 *Proud*, 421. — EDITOR.]

[2] Three years after this date, James Logan, in a letter to William Penn, thus characterizes Judge Guest: "A desire to be somebody, and an unjust method of craving and getting, seems to be the rule of his life. He has often been of great service, which should of itself be acknowledged, but it is owing to little good in his temper. It was his failing — that were laid hold of, to lead him to it — and, upon the whole, I must give it as my opinion that he is not to be trusted. He is remarkable in an unhappy talent of abusing every past governor, and seems fixed to no moral."

He died in Philadelphia, and was interred there the 8th of Seventh month, 1707. — L.

gives, in reality, but seven pounds ten shillings a ton to N. Puckler, and hopes thou givest not more. I desire thou wilt not fail to return that money due to my father, at least one-half, by the first good opportunity, to Barbadoes or otherwise. Not else at present, from thy friend, HANNAH PENN.

ISAAC NORRIS TO DANIEL ZACHARY.

8th of 10th-mo., 1700.

. . . . . I am, at length, got home from wearisome New Castle, after near seven weeks' session, much teasing, and sometimes almost off the hinges, for they would creak loudly; then we used to sit and reduce ourselves to good order again. Some turbulent spirits would often endeavor to drive it to a pitched battle betwixt upper counties and lower, Quakers and Churchmen; but, in short, we at length brought it to a pretty good conclusion. We compiled out of the old, and formed some new—in all about ninety laws in a body, as far as our capacities and general heads would admit. We settled property in respect to weak titles, and for a closing stroke gave the governor two thousand pounds, at which our malcontents are not well pleased, and some, I hear, endeavor to withstand paying.

. . . . . .

ISAAC NORRIS TO DANIEL ZACHARY.[1]

29th 11th-mo., 1700.

. . . . . I have missed no post since I came from that Frenchified, Scotchified, Dutchified[2] place, as thou callst it, and hope by this time thou art sensible of it. I am obliged for all the news; but we hear it. The governor has promised me a sight of the sacrifice your zealots have made to their revenge—a poor and mean confutation; and, however it may please their followers, it will render them fairly outdone in the eyes of the disinterested and wise. 'T is true, burning of libels against a prince or government, which tend to sedition or disturbance of the subjects, may be quite proper, but, as I understand, this is

[1] Norris MSS. [2] Newcastle.—J. P. Norris, Sen.

matter of fact, and difference between subject and subject, and shows a piece of arrogance, as well as folly, so to exert their revenge. Were I the author, I should think my point gained; and no doubt he has sense enough to make a right use of the advantage they have given him. Your New England ministers, so called, seem to have much zeal for religion, but have a peculiar talent in the application and practice; and by looking no farther than their own narrow limits, do not consider the universality of God's love to the creation, and how pleasing it is in his sight that we carry a moral and civil respect and love to our fellow-creatures, as brethren by creation and the workmanship of his hands, all of a piece as to our naturals. But I leave this digression, and only hint that certainly they have no legal right, much less divine, to claim a maintenance from you, that hear them not. . . . .

WILLIAM PENN, JR., TO JAMES LOGAN.

WORMINGHURST, *Feb. 11th*, 1700.

DEAR FRIEND:—I have not, which I am very sorry for, at present, time to answer thy long, though not tedious letter, for good sense can never be tedious to those who crave but enough to relish it; yet if thy former had been twenty-three instead of three sheets, it had not balanced for the shortness of that of January, which was but one and a half lines. I hope thee will make it up with interest. I am now to tell thee that yesterday, at half hour past eight in the morning, to a minute, my wife was brought to bed of a brave boy.[1] If thee will calculate his nativity, thee will much oblige

Thy most affectionate friend,

WM. PENN, JR.

Addressed, "For James Logan, Secretary to His Excellency, in Philadelphia."

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[1] [Probably Springett Penn.—EDITOR.]

An Abstract of Several Informations relating to Irregular Proceedings and other Undue Practices in Pennsylvania.[1]

1. That all illegal trade is carried on there, more than ever. Sloops are purposely employed to go out of the Capes and take on board goods brought by other vessels from Curaçoa, which they land at Philadelphia or elsewhere, and then the vessels that brought them, come up to Philadelphia in ballast, as if they had brought nothing.

2. The acts passed in Pennsylvania to prevent illegal trade are not put in execution, as neither the acts of trade made here.

3. Mr. Penn, having appointed water bailiffs by his own authority, has invaded thereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty established by the king.

4. There is neither any militia established, nor any provision made of arms or ammunition, but the country left defenceless, and exposed to all hazards both by land and sea, of which the representatives of the lower counties have several times complained to Mr. Penn, but without obtaining any redress.

5. Mr. Penn endeavors all he can to invite foreign and French Indians, known to be villanous, and but lately come from Canada, to settle in this country, only for the benefit of a trade with them, which he takes care wholly to engross to himself, by ordering the Indians not to permit any to trade with them but such as produce an indented license under his seal. What his profit may be thereby is not known. But it is apprehended this practice may tend to endanger the lives of many thousands of her Majesty's subjects.

6. Mr. Penn prevailed with the assembly, at one sitting, to make a present to him of two thousand pounds, and further to settle upon him one thousand pounds per annum and upwards, in taxes. The expense of their several sittings whilst he was there, amounts to above six hundred pounds. But he has not

[1] [This and the five subsequent papers are from the Logan Manuscripts in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which were many years since presented to that institution by Mrs. Logan. Also, see *Mem. of Hist. Soc. Penn.*, vol. ii. 191.—Editor.]

disposed them to raise the small quota of three hundred and fifty pounds, which was signified to be requisite towards the defence of New York; they excusing themselves chiefly upon account of the want of a settled militia, arms and ammunition for their own defence, which has indisposed them to any compliance with the quota of men for New York, in case of an attack, though it be a condition upon which the government was restored to him.

7. The representatives of the three lower counties, in an address to Mr. Penn, have further represented, that, instead of reaping the security designed by the laws passed at New Castle, they find that the most essential of those laws, and which nearest concern them in their estates, have not been sent home for his Majesty's approbation, especially those of qualification of magistrates and juries, and those for establishing property and raising money.

8. Those representatives being doubtful of Mr. Penn's right to the government of those counties, they desired a sight of his deed of feoffment. But, instead thereof, were threatened with a gaol, without bail, till either the king's pleasure should be known, or Mr. Penn's return into these parts; and by these proceedings being made more doubtful of the validity of the laws passed at New Castle, they refused to confirm the same.

9. In relation to the administration of justice, information has been given of three particular cases, very heinous, viz., a man, committed for . . [imperfect MS.] . . for want of a legal method of proceeding got off. A woman, committed for murdering her bastard child, and confessing the fact, was either acquitted or pardoned. The son of an eminent Quaker, by several shuffling and irregular practices, got off without trial.

10. Further information has been given of a jury, who, not agreeing upon the verdict in a cause which they were charged with, determined themselves by hustle-cap.

11. Appeals have not been granted from sentences in courts in Pennsylvania, to his Majesty in council, here, particularly in the case of Thomas Byfield against John King.

12. The deputy-governor left by Mr. Penn, is not qualified by his Majesty's approbation, or otherwise, as requisite by law.

Nor has Mr. Penn ever given security for any deputy governor, as directed by the address of the House of Lords of 18th of March, 1696.[1]

Answers to the Abstract of Complaints against Proceedings in Pennsylvania.

1. This is more than I know; and wonder, if it be true, that Colonel Quary (who, I perceive, presents these informations to this honorable Board) never told me so before; for I never heard but of one vessel that played us such a trick; and I wish that Colonel Q. and his officers had been more vigorous to prevent it. But, for the vindication of our merchants and of that colony, I must desire Col. Q. to prove the charge; that due course may be taken to punish the faulty, and prevent such things for the future.

2. I pray proof of this also; for he never complained to me, that I can remember, of such neglect. But this I know, that he told me he thought I was too hard upon the tobacco-planters, in making that law; for by that law the hogsheads of tobacco were to be weighed at their shipping, because they used to pass formerly at four hundred pounds weight, by content; though, perhaps, they or the merchants crowded in seven, eight, or nine hundred pounds weight into a hogshead, by which the king lost, at one penny per pound, not less than thirty, forty, or fifty shillings; which, in a thousand hogsheads, comes to fifteen hundred or two thousand pounds.

3. Colonel Quary, in his letter to this Board, laid the charge as if I had granted that commission to all the sheriffs; but of six sheriffs for the six counties, two only had them. They were granted of necessity, to suppress great disorders upon the water, and in his absence, and never disputed by his deputy; and when objected against by himself at his return (after six months' absence upon his traffic into other colonies), I did immediately command the sheriffs to forbear acting by them till further order.

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[1] Indorsed, "Col. Quary, Information No. 1."

One of them never had, and the other but twice, and in slight occasions; however, it was drawn by one that Lord Bellamont had made a council at New York, and naval officer thereof, well acquainted in such matters; and I offered to join with him to represent it home to this and the Admiralty Board, to give us our true boundaries, as the king's council in both laws should advise, which he promised, and best knows why he did not perform it.

4. There is as much as was in Colonel Fletcher's time, and the same governor I continued in command by the queen's directions; all commissions being by proclamation, to remain in force till revoked, and they never were. But it is a mistake that I had my government restored to me upon those terms. Let the royal instrument be consulted. Nor was my right ever dissolved, or that interruption given me to be by law vindicated. And for the country's being left defenceless, it is an imposition upon the Lords to tell them a militia can secure it; since by land there is none to annoy it; and by sea, the position of the country and the manner of our settlements considered, (our distance from the capes being one hundred and sixty miles, Newcastle one hundred and twenty, and the shoals and narrows so many,) that a small vessel of war would, under God's providence, be the best security.

5. I never, to my knowledge, invited or entertained one French Indian in my life; but discouraged Frenchmen, employed by Colonel Q. or his customers, from trading with our Indians, (the cause of that restraint,) that they might not debauch them from the English friendship and interest; all which is notorious in those parts, where the truth can only be examined and found out. My profit by the Indians was never sixpence; but my known perpetual bounties to them have cost me many hundreds of pounds, if not some thousands, first and last. But this shows a necessity of a *modius inquirendum* upon the place.

6. I acknowledge the two thousand pounds that money, (which makes not twelve hundred pounds English;) but his one thousand pounds is not above seven hundred pounds that money, nor five hundred pounds this, and nearly expired. But is that such a recompense, when five times the sum is less than

my due; having not had for twenty years one farthing, but maintained the deputy-governor at my own charges? And yet more than half of what they gave me is yet unpaid, and if Colonel Q. and his factious adherents can obstruct it, will never be paid me. Whereas, had the law of imposts, given me in '83, been received by me, it had been twenty thousand pounds, and more, money in my way; and which was only by me waived for a few years in our infancy, upon promises never performed to me. But for the three hundred and fifty pounds the king writ me about, I did not only endeavor to raise it by calling an assembly, (and which help up the charge of the six hundred pounds he talks of,) but writ to the Governor of New York, that, though I paid the three hundred pounds myself, he should not want such a sum for the king's services; whose answer was, that he neither wanted men nor money, but Colonel Kramer, the engineer that the New-Englanders kept from him; nor was it at the same session or assembly that gave me that supply, but . . [MS. torn] . . after. Therefore, it cannot be justly concluded that I preferred my own wants to the king's service; and it was poverty more than defence, that was the excuse of the lower counties for not contributing to it, where a ship only as before is their best security; the town of Philadelphia, at least the county, being in reality worth more than all the inhabitants of the lower counties, who yet have equal privileges with the whole province, on whose account he makes this reflection upon us. However, they are not singular, Virginia and Maryland, old and opulent, as well as king's colonies, having declined their quotas.

7. It was then declared to them and consented to, that the imperfection of some laws in matter and wording, would require a review another session, and none were kept back but those that were made towards the end of that session, when the early frost setting in so hard, and the sickliness of the place, made the members impatient of further stay. Nor am I (as I presume) obliged by my patent to send them in so short a time; however, I expect them daily.

8. They had the sight of the deed of feoffment, and were also told by me it was upon record at New York; and for threatening them with a gaol, 't is a most abusive perversion; for what

was said was to a member, but of one that was not a member, that was supposed to have sowed such reflections about the town, by himself or agents, and upon that I said, "Tell me his name and prove it upon him, and I will take care to lay him where I shall prevent his seditious practices, till the king's commands are known, or the law release him." This is the truth of the case, and I am still of the same mind for the preservation of the common peace; nor did I know how to preserve it otherwise; and I thank God, it continues still, and hope will till the queen's pleasure shall be known; while our neighbors at New York are in such confusion and extremity, though not only a king's colony, but one of the most importance.

9. For this foul charge I might refer the Board to the records of the county. However, I will say this much: nobody complained to me of it, nor appealed about the first of them; but I have heard the reason of his being cleared was, that the single witness against him ran away, and was a fellow of no credit into the bargain, upon which, after a long imprisonment, he was discharged in open court of quarter sessions. For the woman, she is neither pardoned nor acquitted, but the whole case lies with Secretary Vernon, to whom I sent it for the king's mind, who only could pardon her, and, for want of a sufficient prison, is still in custody (if living) of the sheriff, who waits for directions therein. Which representation was at the instance and address of the Swedish minister and congregation, of which she was a member, that pleaded, 1st, that it was her own discovery; 2d, that it was five years after the fact; 3d, her extreme sorrow and repentance, of which the discovery was an instance. As to the rape, the man challenged by the woman married her. And in the opinion of the two only lawyers of the place, and one of them the king's advocate of the Admiralty, and the attorney-general of the country, her evidence was thereby enervated. But because the marriage was not so regular as the law required, I ordered the prosecution of it with the utmost vigor, as the minutes of the council will show. For the reflection upon our profession in styling the father an eminent Quaker: 1st, the father was but a late comer, and little known; and, 2dly, far from eminent there or here, but of all held

a quiet, honest man, who had been his son's security, the time . . [here MS. is imperfect] . . for want of him, before it was admitted, nor was it at last without good authorities in law.

10. That was true, and they punished for it, or I had severely prosecuted them. But this was done some time before my arrival.

11. This I must positively disown, for I never did deny one, nor was ever appealed or complained to. If any court in my government presumed to do so, I hope I know better things in justice and prudence than to countenance or endure it.

12. It was no fault of mine, since I could not stay to receive it; but his name was sent over by me to my son, for that service, above a year before I thought of my hasty return, but it was, it seems, omitted to be presented because of the doubtful issue of the bill then in Parliament against us. However, I have the opinion of Chief-Justice Attwood, at New York, that being a governor in my own right, till the king could be apprised of it, the appointment I made was good, and Col. Quary cannot but know that necessity is ever a commission; and that I was under an absolute one, both to come and to choose him, seeing there was not another person in either province (not a Quaker) capable of it, unless my lieutenant-governor, that I had displaced upon the king's commands, in '99. And I hope, whatever be Col. Quary's point, the Lords will judge of my proceeding according to the nature of public exigencies. WM. PENN.[1]

A REPLY TO MR. PENN'S ANSWER TO THE INFORMATION RELATING TO IRREGULAR PROCEEDINGS, ETC., IN HIS GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Article the First. The charge being matter of fact, and too tedious to transcribe all the proofs of them, I have only to desire your Lordships that we may with all expedition proceed to it, being ready to make appear to your Lordships that I have often

[1] [This is an original, and is signed in Penn's own handwriting, and indorsed by him: "Answer to Col. Quary's first Memorial."—EDITOR.]

complained of it, and admire at the shortness of Mr. Penn's memory, that he can remember but one vessel. I shall mind him of several others.

Secondly. The Acts made in Pennsylvania to prevent illegal trade are so far from being put in execution, that they are not allowed to be Acts; and as to the English Acts of Parliament, it shall fully appear to your Lordships that no care hath been taken of them; that the government, and all Mr. Penn's plausible story on this head, hath nothing in it but to amuse your Lordships.

Thirdly. This, also, is matter of fact, ready to be proved; and I shall therefore only remark to your Lordships that Mr. Penn very well knows that all the trade of that province lieth within the district of those two counties where he had granted the commissions; and that I never was absent but that I left sufficient powers to have suppressed all disorders. He is pleased to say the commissions he gave were drawn by one that my Lord Bellamont had employed, but doth not add that so soon as my Lord was thoroughly apprised of his character, he turned him out; and that after this, though the same information were given Mr. Penn, yet he employed him. That Mr. Penn did solemnly promise to join with me in representing some things home relating to the powers of my commission, and that till things were determined, and we should receive directions from the government, I should uninterruptedly execute all the powers of my commission, is true; but that, contrary to this promise, he hath invaded those powers, by granting commissions, &c., is as ready to be proved.

Fourthly. I must in general offer my proofs of the article replied to, and shall take care to distinguish how far Colonel Fletcher attempted the settling of a militia, what Mr. Penn hath done in that affair, and on what account it is truly necessary for the protection and defence of the country.

Fifthly. Besides the general offer of proof, Mr. Penn pleases to evade the charge, and quibble about French Indians. I charge him, that, notwithstanding the nakedness of the country, he hath lately received into his province several nations of foreign Indians, and some French Indians, who are lately run away to the

French. Mr. Penn is pleased to say that he hath discouraged Frenchmen employed by me from trading with the Indians; in answer to which, I do assure your Lordships that I never employed any Frenchmen to trade with any Indians, nor any other person or persons whatsoever.

Sixthly. Mr. Penn, in his reply, hath, in effect, owned this article, and I see no room for any other answer than to tell you that proofs are not wanting to clear anything he may have made doubtful in his pretended reply.

Seventhly. The like may suffice in reply to the seventh answer.

Eighthly. And as to the next, I shall at the same time make it appear to your Lordships, that what Mr. Penn hath said hath no weight in it. I do most humbly desire of your Lordships, on the behalf of the inhabitants of the three lower counties, that Mr. Penn may be obliged to make appear what title he hath (if any) to the government of those three lower counties, or to the rents, he having exercised the former to the highest degree, and hath received or secured the rent for about twenty years.

Ninthly. The charge relating to the three capital crimes suffered to go unpunished in Mr. Penn's government, are proved by the hands of several persons of integrity and honor.

Tenthly. The fact of the hustle-cap is owned, but I am not conscious they were ever punished for it, and desire it may be proved by Mr. Penn.

Eleventhly. Mr. Byfield having petitioned her Majesty and complained of the denial of an appeal to him on which an order was granted, requiring those in Mr. Penn's government to allow of appeals home and to remit the cause, puts that matter out of dispute, if that were the only instance.

Twelfthly. The matter of the seventeenth article is likwise true, this present deputy-governor not being qualified according to law, for which reason the people of the Jerseys refused to submit to him as governor. This Mr. Penn very well knew, yet had so little regard to her Majesty's laws, that, in contempt of them, he made him deputy-governor of Pennsylvania. Neither can I by any means allow of his pretence of necessity of appointing Col. Hamilton, in that there was no other person capable of it,

there being to my knowledge several persons less liable to objections, and every way as capable of that employment.

A Reply to Mr. Penn's Second Answer,[1]

Humbly submitted to the Right Honorable the Lords of the Council of Trade and Plantations.

First. As to what relates to restoring Anthony Morris to his places in the government, it is matter of fact, and owned by Mr. Penn; but that I had any such discourse with himself or Anthony Morris, as Mr. Penn mentions, I do absolutely deny, and shall be ready, when your Lordships command, to lay the true state of it before you.

Secondly. Mr. Penn is charged, that, in a late charter which he hath granted to the people of Philadelphia, he hath given the sheriffs almost all the powers of the Admiralty, to the Capes of the Bay, under the pretence of water-bailiffs; to all which charge he hath made no reply.

Thirdly. This article being owned by Mr. Penn and by his officer's letter, leaves no room for enlargement; but only shall add this hint: the said William Righton is an old offender, noted for illegal practices, as will be more fully shown when matters are debated before your Lordships.

Fourthly. As to what concerns his kinsman, Mr. Parmiter, I appeal to Mr. Penn whether I did not acquaint him with it in Pennsylvania, whether he did not see a copy of the indictment against the said Parmiter; and if it be still doubted, I have only to inform your Lordships that I expect a copy of the records every day from Bristol, having sent for them.

Fifthly. All the matters in this article are true, and Mr. Penn is no stranger to it, since I acquainted him with it in Pennsylvania, and am now ready to prove it here. Mr. Penn's answer to the article is branched out into so many particulars, and of so little concern to the matter, that I cannot speak to it without being very large; so must refer that till the business is debated

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[1] Indorsed in Penn's handwriting: "Col. Quary's Reply."

before your Lordships. And now may it please your Lordships, that there may be no delay of the Queen's affairs by my staying in England, I beg leave to have a short day assigned, that I may proceed to all my proofs, which are at all times ready; it being both difficult and tedious to commit them all to writing, which is, however, humbly submitted to your Lordships' consideration by

Your Lordships' most humble servant,

ROBERT QUARY.

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT VESSELS HATH BEEN SEIZED AND CONDEMNED IN PENNSYLVANIA, BY ROBERT QUARY, JUDGE OF THE COURT OF VICE-ADMIRALTY,

Most humbly presented to the Honorable the Commissioners of her Majesty's Customs.

November, 1698.

	£	s.	d.
The sloop *Jacob*, Francis Basset, master: the queen's third came to £40	40	00	00
The East India goods which were condemned and forcibly taken out of the queen's stores: the third came to, by the Quakers' appraisement, £80 or £90	90	00	00
The brigantine *Jane*, Edward Johnson, master: the queen's third came to about	10	00	00
A parcel of goods seized by the collector and condemned: the queen's third came to	25	7	00
The sloop *Callipatch*, John Hexby, master: the queen's third came to about	40	00	00
The sloop *Deer*, Goosey Bunyan, master: the queen's third came to about	12	00	00
The sloop *James and Mary's Adventure*, George Anderson, master: the queen's third came to about	45	00	00
Total	262	7	00

Pennsylvania money, which makes of sterling money the sum of £174 18*s.* 0*d.*

The ship *Providence*, John Lumby, master: the queen's third amounts to £193 17*s.* 6½*d.* of Pennsylvania money.

May it please your Honors, this is the account of her Majesty's thirds, since I have been concerned, to the best of my knowledge,—in case there be any small mistake, it shall be certified from the records and on oath,—out of which I have paid and dis-

bursed for her Majesty's service one hundred and thirty pounds, besides my four years' service and attendance. All which is most humbly submitted to your Honors' judgment, by

Your Honors' most obedient and humble servant,

R. QUARY.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST COL. ROBERT QUARY, RELATING TO HIS BEING JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY.

First. His unacquaintance with the civil law, of which he is judge, not being versed therein, and having had a differing [an indifferent?] education, renders him incapable of executing so great a trust, wherein both the Queen's interest and the subjects' property are deeply concerned—since he judges without a jury, and pretends that the Admiralty has a larger jurisdiction there than in England.

Secondly. His extending of his admiralty jurisdiction to cases not only cognizable but proper to common law courts, taking all causes from the sheriffs that relate to the water, though *infra corpus comitatus*, and where the river is not a mile over, and in the freshes.

Thirdly. That he is the greatest merchant or factor in the province, and yet is both judge of the Admiralty and surveyor of the customs, which is conceived to be an absolute inconsistency, and of dangerous consequence to trade at large, as well as wrong to the rest of the people, of that province in particular.

Fourthly. That he has been unreasonably and unwarrantably rigorous in some cases, to the great discouragement of the traders of that province, as well as judge of his own court, by having the Queen's third instead of a salary.

Fifthly. He has been partial in his administration. 1st. He seized a sloop belonging to one Nailor, upon a slight information of foul trade, never proved, as I hear, against her; and though sufficient security was offered him, had her appraised at fifteen pounds, and afterwards hired her himself for Carolina; and at her return, not only paid no freight, but obliged the poor widow, the owner, to sell her vessel to great loss, to satisfy the afore-

said appraisement. 2d. I desire Col. Q. may be asked if the *Curaçoa* vessel, so much talked of, was seized till she was sold by the transgressors to honest men, who were rebuilding of her at her seizing, and the sellers gone out of the province to New York. 3d. If Robert Webb, marshal of the Admiralty, did not first inform against the sloop *Callipatch*, and yet the owners (or one of them) afterwards admitted for informers to save a third, who had been the greatest transgressors in that trade of the whole river. 4th. His known rigor (presumed for lucre-sake) against the ship *Providence*, one Lumby, master, that, mistaking our Capes for those of Virginia, after a distressing passage of five months, having never been on that coast before, was seized by him for want of a register, though the captain and carpenter that helped to build her took their oaths of her being registered, and that two substantial merchants offered, for trade-sake, and in honor to the owners (to them unknown), to be bound in three thousand pounds security, that those concerned should stand the judgment of the high Court of Admiralty in England, if the ship might go her voyage; but were refused and informed against by said Quary for so doing, as enemies to the admiralty jurisdiction. These goods were appraised low at the instance of said Col. Quary or John Moor, advocate, that the owners might come at easy rates, no malice or design of fraud appearing. But after appraisement, two-thirds were sold, the king's one third by Col. Quary, the other by the advocate as informer at rack-values, which is presumed to be seventy, if not cent. per cent., for by a re-appraisement of my one-third, that I declared from the first I would return to the owners, the value of the two-thirds was settled, and that was fifty or sixty per cent. above the first appraisement, and the appraisers offered to take them off with ready money at that rate; which whole story of garbling a fair trading-ship to their private ends, was the dishonor and is still the suffering of the province in reputation and trade. And it is suspected that Col. Quary and the advocate went halves in his one-third. However, the overplus was worth above two hundred pounds to them, upon the two-thirds as first appraised.

Sixthly. That the Queen, I fear, has been unfairly dealt with

in other appraisements of forfeitures than that of Lumby's, as comparing them with Col. Quary's sales will better appear.

Note—That Col. Quary and I lived well together, till what follows happened:

1*st.* That I did, in obedience to the high Court of Admiralty in England, grant an order to appraise the ship and goods of one Lumby, seized, condemned, and divided by said Quary, and that discovered the abuse of the first appraisement, above fifty per cent., as I take it.

2*dly.* That I refused to let him condemn Gillham's goods, taken on several: he sold them at Lewis as forbidden trade, that he might be let in for his one-third, since said Gillham was a pirate.

3*dly.* Because he had heard in Virginia, and also from England, that I had sent five affidavits home against him, and for that reason he privately sent home the copy of the water-bailiffs' commission as a complaint of an encroachment upon his commission of the Admiralty, without giving me a previous notice, according to his promise, that we might have jointly represented that matter to the Lords. But to do him right, when he perceived the story false, and that I had never sent one, he pretended to attempt the recovery of that letter from New York, and to go on with me in our former friendly correspondence, till sent for home from thence to throw dirt upon me, the people, and government of Pennsylvania; for what end may be easily imagined.

A Copy of a Second Complaint.[1]

To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Foreign Plantations.

A memorial most humbly presented by Colonel Robert Quary, humbly presenteth, that by several letters received from Pennsylvania, I have the following account:

1*st.* That Anthony Morris, who as a magistrate did give a

[1] [Although this paper belongs to the latter part of 1701, it was thought better to insert it in this place.—Editor.]

warrant for the taking by force out of her Majesty's stores a parcel of prohibited goods which were under seizure; of which unlawful act an account being sent home to the governor, Mr. Penn was ordered to turn the said Anthony Morris out of all offices, and prosecute him for the crime. That, in obedience to his late Majesty's commands, and the orders of this honorable Board, Mr. Penn did turn out the said Morris, to answer his turn for the present occasion, but has now restored him again, and made him one of his chief magistrates.[1]

2d. That Mr. Penn hath, in a late charter granted to the people of this city of Philadelphia, given to the sheriffs almost all the power of the Admiralty, even to the Capes of the Bay, under the pretence of water-bailiffs.

3d. That several vessels being lately seized for breach of the several Acts of Parliament, the government have, in open contempt of the admiralty power, brought the information against the said vessels in their courts of common law.

4th. That Mr. Penn has commissioned his kinsman, one Parmiter, to be the attorney-general, who is convicted of felony, perjury, and forgery, as may appear to the Lords from the records of the city of Bristol.

5th. That about three years since there was a dedimus, under the great seal of England, sent to Pennsylvania, empowering Edward Randolph, John Moor, Jasper Yeates, John Hollwel, Edward Chilton, Esqs., and myself, or any one of us, to administer the oaths to all such persons which from time to time should take upon them the government of Pennsylvania, and in case of our death or absence, then the members of the council, together with the principal officers of the customs, had power to administer the said oaths according to law. That the said dedimus was carried to the secretary to have it recorded in his office, and is forcibly detained by the governor of Pennsylvania from the said commissioners, on purpose to prevent them from executing the powers of the said commissions, and thereby persons have assumed the government without being qualified as the law directs. I do humbly propose that your Lordships

[1] [See Colonial Records, i. 575.—Editor.]

will please to order that the dedimus may be delivered to the commissioners unto whom it is directed, that so they may be enabled to obey his Majesty's commands, and answer the ends of the law.

6th. That information hath been given to Col. Hamilton how that the French are settling themselves on the back of Pennsylvania, about four days' journey from New Castle. That one Lewis Lemoivin, a Frenchman, who has lived many years in Pennsylvania, and traded with the Indians, is run away to them, with two Canada Indians that were sent as spies to view the nakedness of that country. By which means the French will have the full knowledge of the country and its defenceless condition, which makes the inhabitants dread the consequence.

All of which is humbly offered to your Lordships' consideration, by

Your Lordships' most obedient servant,

ROBERT QUARY.

1701.

[This was a notable year in the history of the province. The most important events were: *1st.* The treaty of friendship between the governor and council and the Susquehanna Indians, whereby the continuance of the existing "good will was confirmed and a lasting peace established, so that the Indians and all the English and other Christian inhabitants of the province should be as one head and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity as one people."

2d. The unfortunate steps never to be retraced, to effect a separation between the province and the territories, or, as they were commonly called, the three lower counties, now the State of Delaware.

3d. Penn's departure; for he said to the assembly: "The enemies of the prosperity of the province were taking advantage of his absence, and some had attempted by false or unreasonable charges to undermine the government, and thereby the

true value of all labor and prosperity; . . . that nothing should be able to alter his love to the country, or his resolution to return and settle his family and posterity in it"—an intention never, alas, to be realized, although he had come with the purpose of making America his permanent abode. He left under the strongest exhibition of good will: hearts were softened, past differences appeared to be forgotten, and a spirit of fraternal friendship lighted up the countenance of friend, and seemed to beam even from that of foe, giving assurance of prolonged peace and prosperity. But this was mainly on the surface—the people were surfeited with liberty, for having been hitherto restrained, they had here sought refuge from that restraint. Freedom had been but a nominal birthright. The weak abounded, the sensible were few in number, and the designing and ambitious soon gained a sway which could never be effectually counteracted.—EDITOR.]

ISAAC NORRIS TO JEFFRY PINNELL.

PHILADELPHIA, *6th 1st mo.*, 1700–1.

The governor, wife, and daughter well. . . . Their little son[1] is a comely, lovely babe, and has much of his father's grace and air, and hope he will not want a good portion of his mother's sweetness, who is a woman extremely well beloved here, exemplary in her station, and of an excellent spirit, which adds lustre to her character, and has a great place in the hearts of good people. The governor is our *Pater Patriæ*, and his worth is no new thing to us; we value him highly, and hope his life will be preserved till all things now on the wheel are settled here to his peace and comfort, and the people's ease and quiet.

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[1] John Penn, son of the Proprietor by his second wife, was born shortly after the arrival of his parents in Pennsylvania, as I find by the following extract of a letter.—L.

"(Third-day), *31st 11mo.*, 1699.

"Our governor has a son born last First-day night, and all like to do well."

Isaac Norris to Samuel Chew.[1]

15th 2d mo., 1701.

. . . . The probability of war I perceive is great, and we have it from Boston that it is already proclaimed: they say it comes from Virginia, but this wants confirmation, and I hope ever will, war being a sore evil upon any nation, and I believe not very acceptable to ours at this juncture. The old sores seem yet unhealed, and I believe all good men have reason to dread the consequences of a fresh raking into them. My soul loves and desires peace, and I pray that God will continue it to the peaceable, amidst all the turmoils that are in the world. Our governor's gone out of town, to meet with the chieftains of the Indians. . . . .

William Penn to James Logan.[2]

S. Galloway's, *11th 4th mo.*, 1701.

All is well through mercy, and poor Grace has borne her affliction to admiration. Pray be careful in my Manor matters, and take information of the bearer, John Buckley, about I. Grutt's base shiftings, and other discoveries, especially about my Manors. Farewell. Thy friend, W. Penn.

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[1] [From the Norris MSS.
War against France and Spain was formally declared May 4, 1702.—Editor.]

[2] I think it probable that the first paragraph alludes to the death of David Lloyd's only child, a promising little boy of seven or eight years of age, whose death, in his mother's absence, was occasioned by a relation, in whose care he was left, putting him, as a punishment for some juvenile offence, into a closet in the cellar, where his terror occasioned him to fall into fits, which terminated his existence.

In old age, *his* mother, mentioning this unhappy event to *mine*, observed that it was the utmost stretch of her Christian principles to forgive the perpetrator of it. William Penn, in a letter written some years after this, mentions in a feeling manner the sore trial which it must have been to the parents, and seems to wonder that the father could retain unkind views and sinister practices after having gone through it. David Lloyd was not related to Thomas Lloyd, but being both Friends, and fellow-countrymen, he had called the child after the excellent first President of Pennsylvania, and he was buried in the ground in Arch

HANNAH PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, [*no date.*]

The bearer brings Jack word that his wife Parthenia is sold to Barbadoes, which makes him desire to return; but I am loath to let him go, because our washing approaches, but I should be glad to have a right information, and how long it will be ere she goes? If there were time for it, and I were fully satisfied of her honesty, I should be willing to have her up by the boat to help about washing; but I am in a little doubt concerning her, having lost more wearing linen since in that town than in all the years of my life before. I cannot charge her with it, but I desire thou 'lt send for Betty Webb, and press her to give her inward thoughts about her, and act accordingly. Let her (E. Webb) look into the store-room for a parcel of clean white curtains, and send them carefully; also a pair of pewter candlesticks, old fashion, that came from hence to be mended; and a little more oil from Ann Parson's for my husband's leg; it is in a fine way of doing well. Pray give Ann my kind love; I should be very glad to see her here, to see her boy, who thrives every day now; and we are all, through mercy, well. Send up about ten yards

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Street, among the descendants of Thomas Lloyd. David Lloyd was born in 1656, in the parish of Manavan, in the county of Montgomery, North Wales; he came to this country in July, 1686, in the ship Amity, from London.

Grace Lloyd was of the family of Growdon, in the county of Bucks, Pennsylvania, a very fine woman, of great piety, good sense, excellent conduct, and engaging manners. She was deservedly esteemed by all, survived her husband many years, and continued to live in the house he built near Chester, and lies buried by him in Friends' graveyard, where a small stone designates the resting-place of each. On that of the judge is inscribed: "Here lyeth the body of David Lloyd, who departed this life the 6th day of the 2d month, Anno Domini 1731, aged 78 years."—L.

[Mrs. Logan was probably indebted for the date of Lloyd's coming into the province to the "*Registry of Arrivals*," which states it to have been on the 15th of 5th month, 1686, and that he was born in the parish of Manavan, erroneously written, however, for Manaron, *in the year* 1656. The Registry and the inscription on his tombstone do not therefore agree. His wife, the Registry states, was Sarah Lloyd, born in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, England. Sarah afterward died, and he married, secondly, Grace Growdon.—EDITOR.]

of frieze for servants, of that sort that wants using most, and some four or six blue shirts if there. We want a dozen of Madeira wine, which thou mayst send for G. Emlen or some other to help draw it. As to the oil John spoke of, we had it there, but did not know of it, not having opened the chest in which it was. The glasses from R. Hill came safely and acceptably to my hand. P. England mistook my husband about licenses: he only spoke of an ill red house near the Centre, which he was unwilling to grant a license to. As to her that lives in S. Atkins's house, for the same reason, or worse; though he thinks they should not be fined for wanting them, because they had an expectation given of having them, and are only refused for faults since committed.

Our love to Edward Singleton: we are glad to hear he has got abroad. Our love to thee, and friends.

Thy friend, H. P.

P. S.—Let Robert call at Cousin Asheton's for things she has of mine, and a paper or two of smallest pins.

Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary.

Philadelphia, 21*st* 4*th mo.*, 1701.

I am just come home from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the governor; we had a roundabout journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the king's palace in *Conestogoa*, and from thence crossed it to *Scoolkill*, where we fell in about thirty miles up from hence.

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, 30*th* 4*th mo.*, 1701.

I forgot a material point—the last Indian instrument from the Conestogo Indians—which I must have, or a copy, before I can answer Col. Blackiston's letter; a false story firing two or three of their foolish people of our inviting the Piscataways from Maryland, instead of their seeking to us: but Governor

Blackiston would not believe it. Fail not, therefore, to send it to Samuel Jennings for me with speed, who will be with me; or send it by Gov. Hamilton, who dines with me on Fourth-day. Also thy sentiments by Judge Guest, who comes up to-morrow to Burlington, in order to be here with Gov. Hamilton, by whom thou mayst send the deed directly. Get us a third of a good pipe of Madeira for our own use. We are, through mercy, well—the maids better.

Be vigorous about my property matters, and tell R. Hallowell I take it ill he keeps the letter to Lewis about the king's[1] . . . so long, and never sent it! He may chance to hear of it unpleasantly. Vale. WM. PENN.

Send up the parlor bell, three or four stock-locks, three or four pounds of nails, from four to ten penny.

My husband is willing R. R. should have six on Thomas Grey's account, he giving bond for the remainder due on excise.

H. P.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.[2]

PHILADELPHIA, *First-day* (13*th* 5*th mo.*, 1701.)

I am sorry the time of my coming to town is that of thy going and absence, when it is of such moment that thou hadst been here when I came to town, both with respect to York and Maryland affairs, as they regard us. The king's letters, the assembly, if sit or not, a lieutenant-governor, as well as the excise, and tax, which this one county pays one-half of—of more moment to me than thy presence yonder by far. I know not what service thy stay here was of, where, against promise to them below, thou hast thought fit to remain ten or twelve days, if not more, beyond mine as well as their expectation. I cannot easily comprehend it, since nothing was actually done either about excise or rents here, and nobody yet come from Maryland that required shipping any flour: nay, T. Masters was let loose by thee from what he offered me in case the sloop comes, which

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[1] Here a word is wanting; perhaps it is "letters."—L.

[2] Superscribed: "With speed and care."—L.

the Friends there promised before now to be here; so that I was forced to re-engage him for seven ton, if not ten ton. This is the face things have to me.

For the non-payers of excise, I think I have overcome it, but will not say I have done as much as thou promised to do to Perry. W. P.

William Penn to James Logan.

14th 5th mo., 1701.

I have wanted thee for a proclamation for the sitting of the assembly, at the time to consider of the king's letters, etc., that we may not prorogue again, when we should call or hasten the sitting of an assembly, as well as divers other things of moment—N. Puckle going so soon, with whom I would have sent something—tobacco, twenty hogsheads or forty, if I could have called out so many good ones of bright tobacco. In short, pray dispatch and be here by this day or to-morrow week. For the bank there, get it as here, if can, or leave it to the assembly time for me to talk over with them. Judge Guest is this day admitted of the council. Governor Hamilton in town: nothing yet done conclusive, nor shall, till the assembly is over, I think. Remember to get what thou canst in wheat and flour to comply with the Friends of Maryland for bills—this to thyself; also the money of the tax lies at Chester, with Andrew Job there, these two or three months, which wants to be received.

I admire how thou couldst stay so long here when nothing required it, and nothing is done: take this repetition well, for I am heartily touched: we thus take our turns to be absent. And am, Thy loving friend, W. Penn.

P. S.—For the rent thou writ of, I think *two* bushels of one hundred acres is reasonable, my Manors to submit to manor royalty.

P. Rob[1] will deliver thee the records. Pray hear his caution, and D. Lloyd's, and see if a medium can be found.

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[1] Patrick Robinson. There was also Peter Robinson, one of the old settlers in Philadelphia county. See the old map by Thornton

For T. Pearson, engage him per day, or a certain salary, and take the best way and do what is most beneficial. What if I had twelve pence per foot front to low-water mark forever, so every hundred foot front would make five pounds per annum more, if thou canst.

Thomas Fairman[1] comes with this to clear himself, and to do what he can in reason for my service. Vale.

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, 17*th* 5*th mo.*, 1701.

The master is come, and wants twenty ton of flour and bread, and I want thee. J. Saunders is gone with him to town; but before I can up any, I would know what thou hast for me elsewhere, as at Newcastle or Chester.[2] Things happen cross

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& Greene.—L. [We are aware of no "map by Thornton and Greene," and an inquiry made by us of the librarian of the *British Museum*, which is in possession of a large collection of the maps of this country, does not confirm the existence of any such map. Upon the corner of that by Thomas Holmes we find it stated that it was "*sold by Thornton & Greene, of London*," which may show that Mrs. Logan probably referred to the map by Holmes.—Editor.]

[1] Thomas Fairman was a surveyor.—L. [See, as to T. F., letter of 30th 5th mo., 1701, and the note to same.—Editor.]

[2] Chester was at that time considered a place of some consequence. A large old building called the Granary, and a bake-house for the supply of shipping, are still [in 1817] standing, though long in disuse. There was also a large dwelling-house, called by the inhabitants "the double house," the property of the "*Sanderlins*,"* a Swedish family settled at Chester before the arrival of Wm. Penn, which, being built with lime made of oyster-shells, became ruinous, and fell down many years since, which was also the fate, from the same cause, of a large house of very early date in Front Street, Philadelphia, built by Richard Whitpaine, and which in 1705 was complained of to the court as dangerous to others in the neighborhood. The house in Chester was that in which the first assembly for the province and territories was held.—L.

*[James Sandelands was from *Scotland*, not Sweden; his wife, however, was of Swedish descent. It is stated somewhere in the "*Breviat*," *Penn* vs. *Lord Baltimore*, that the Proprietor would have established his capital city at Upland, now called Chester, could he have come to terms with Sandelands about the purchase of land; but we incline to believe a weightier reason changed his purpose, which was the uncertainty of his boundary line. For some account of Sandelands, see *note* by the editor to "Record of Upland Court," p. 167; *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vii.—Editor.]

at this juncture by thy absence, we see. All, through mercy, well, only my broken shin.

If thou wast here, poor Tishe[1] might have one bill home for Charles Read's pay, he or his money supplying with some of the flour now needed. Vale. WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *23d 5th mo.*, 1701.

I was for trying yesterday to have come to town, but was feverish, and a cold upon me, besides an ill shin. To-day my cold is worse than yesterday, and have had a restless, feverish night, so that I am doubtful I shall not come this afternoon; and if so, intend a good sweat to-night, and to-morrow by land or water to undertake my journey. My daughter[2] was ill yesterday with fever and cold, but has had a good night, and is better. John should return as soon as he well can. I sent by my wife the . . . .[3] Let a warrant be prepared for Wm. Clayton, for five hundred acres, against I come down. No more at present, but my love to friends.

Thy friend, WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *30th 5th mo.*, 1701.

I have thine by Thomas Fairman.[4] I can only say that I will be certain in my own right, and that he shall. I intend him

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[1] Letitia, the Proprietor's daughter by his first wife.—L.

[2] Letitia, his only living daughter, by Gulielma Maria Springett, his first wife, and who at this time was with her father in America.—L.

[3] [Illegible.—EDITOR.]

[4] James Logan expressed the following opinion of this person in a letter written a few years after this period: "I have not yet discovered Thomas Fairman about those great tracts of land. Thou fully knows my opinion of the man, and time does not alter it. His letter, perhaps, may be of service to thee, but there is no dependence upon him."—L. [Penn as well as Logan, of course, felt that they had full justification for these charges against Thomas Fairman, yet it is not improb-

the island under some moderate conditions, as mowing for my own use, and having some hogs on it with him, till it be drained or improved, of which more when in town, so that I am content to oblige him; but remember that I ask thee a question about the letter he writ thee when I come to town. I would have him to be a commissioner of property with brother Pennington[1] and thyself, could brother Pennington digest it, and so leave you to do all, and set once a week to do all that is requisite to raise money and secure lands. Let the council not expect me till two or three (in) the afternoon, in case they meet at nine. For Judge Guest, I know not what to say to the extraordinary commission. Methinks, if he be first named in a general [way at] large, it would give less exception; yet upon the notice of being the only lawyer of them, may excuse a larger commission; but more of this in town. Pray don't hurt him by an appearance of neglect, less of slight, since I am determined to try him, and let him be on his own merits. Vale.

Wm. Penn.

Let my cousin Markham have the enclosed, and do thou demand of him all books, papers, commission and instructions, and whatever to the office of property did belong, for the half is not in my hands. Get in, I say again, from my cousin Markham, also S. Carpenter, J. Guest or Francis Rawle, and J. Goodson, all papers relating to property.

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able they may have been mistaken. There are circumstances which, if unexplained, may affect the record of any individual engaged in public service. The good old saying, that one side is entitled to credit until the other is heard, has so fair an aspect that we constantly cite it, although we rarely put it into practice; yet as relates to charges long since made, how often does it happen, from the loss of contemporary evidence, that but one side only is heard. It was, therefore, with pleasure, that, from the papers collected by the late Mr. George M. Justice, kindly placed at our disposal by his son, Mr. Philip S. Justice, we obtained the letter to be found upon the next page. — Editor.]

[1] Son of Isaac Pennington, a celebrated minister in the Society of Friends, and of Mary Springett, widow of Sir W. Springett, and mother of Gulielma Maria, the Proprietor's first wife. He was surveyor-general, but died of the small-pox shortly after Wm. Penn left Pennsylvania. — L.

Thomas Fairman to William Penn.

Governor:—Enclosed is what I promised for the first part, considering I have above six thousand acres of land of my own yet to take up, and much more for my friends, I must conclude myself a fool, a friend, or a self-denying man, and to which I might add a *k*, had I not had some private instructions from Tho. Cox, and other of thy good friends my master; nevertheless they shall have land worth their money, with as much favor to the Proprietor as honestly it can be. The Proprietor may confide in my having ever (without reward) preferred his interest, and dare challenge the whole country to manifest the contrary. I confess I have took it a little hardly that strangers less capable have been preferred to offices of profit, and myself overlooked.

I can say, since I came from England, I have never had in all the value of forty shillings for any surveys or other business done whatsoever, and I am sure the account of my house and expense stands little above one hundred and forty pounds since my arrival, besides what my plantation hath brought in; and I will never survey for one-half, and were I surveyor-general myself, I should be charged with oppression to allow my deputy less than two-thirds of the survey wages: there wants but a word from my mouth and he would hardly find a deputy in the province; besides, my circumstances are not as theirs; my knowledge in the three counties exceeding; besides, above sixteen years ago, at my own charge for hands, horses, and provisions, I laid out many manors for the Proprietor, and never had a penny consideration; and also, besides all that, the Proprietor may remember how I have been as his boy, as I may say at a whistle, viz.: go show this and that man, such and the other piece of land, riding my own horse and sometimes two,—one for the person to be showed. But this is all passed: I mention it to show the difference, and much more I could say, of my service at Governor Markham's first arrival, and my unprofitable travels with Thomas Holme, beside my business, who at last died my debtor as per account one hundred and forty-seven pounds, of which I never had a penny.

If I had been a selfish man as Jo. Goodson would represent me, I might have had a fine house at least in the country, since I have neither house or lot in town. Pray, governor, excuse me; methinks I see myself angry, but I know not with whom, and therefore I think I must close.

Governor, accept my endeavors in computing and valuing those lands. I am sure I am not under for quantity, nor over for intrinsic value; and as for the bank lots, 't is but an essay. I presume I have undervalued them, because the purchase is not eighteen shillings per foot, and I should think twenty shillings or more will be given. So with my service I take leave, who am thy friend, THO. FAIRMAN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *6th mo.*, 1701.

Send us up for cider[1] what barrels thou canst get in town, by the very first opportunity. I mean such as are sweet, and have had cider in them — they will be cheapest; also an empty pipe or two to put the mash of the apples in, being sawn asunder. I here enclose this honest, but weak, man's paper. I think I have convinced him that I am one of the poorest men in the government, and that my sin has been neglect of myself, and not selfishness, and therefore ought, and must, make the best of everything. It seems he has much stony and poor mountainous lands, and he thinks two bushels a hundred acres[2] an oppression. I told him I must have but one weight and scale; he says there are two, and some say but one (bushel) by patents from the commissioners under me. I referred it to thee, and told him and did believe thou wouldst be just and reasonable. Quiet him all thou canst, and haste down again. Ask him what Joseph Growdon told him, and what the people below say,

[1] Retired into the country and busied in rural concerns, the name of William Penn may be added to the list of those illustrious characters who have found solace from the cares of state in such employments, and which the accomplished Xenophon thought was the only recreation worthy of persons of high stations. — L.

[2] Quit-rents. — L.

though of little moment. I think we will send in a day or two for the casks. S. Holt may help us to them cheaper. Vale.

W. P.

On the outside of this letter is the following postscript: "He tells me of the hard circumstances of one James Davis, hear it."

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, 13*th* 6*th mo.*, 1701.

Forget not to provide some larger vessels for the keeping of cider than barrels: 4 barrels and 4 hogsheads will do, and if no hogsheads, then two pipes, one at least. Remember that in 2 of my letters to the Lords of Trade, I promised the laws by the first ship that goes hence; so that I shall be under a necessity of sending some, and, indeed excepting those that alienate my fines, and that of property as it stands, the generality may go as they are; for this I must stop N. P.,[1] if it be for a week. Pray get them transcribed by good hands with all speed. I send John Saunders to be helpful, and I desire cousin Asheton to assist. It is thy business, for it was P. Rob,[2] and he did it. I have marked his old roll copy which I lent my cousin Asheton, either what were by me presented when at London, or what were left out of the old laws. The nature of those marked will declare which they were; pray look into them; I did it with a black-lead pencil. I wish to have them for my own satisfaction. Send me per first opportunity what N. P. says as to his going, and dispatch the laws. I would pay cousin Asheton or brother Pennington if would undertake it.

J. Saunders writes well too, though may not be so fast; let them be writ, especially the long ones, in single sheets or papers. I wrote yesterday per Oliver Matthews, of Newcastle county, but this comes first I suppose; pray mind the contents of it. I purpose to be in town Seventh or Second day, according as I hear of N. Puckle. Farewell. W. P.

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[1] Nathaniel Puckle, a captain in the "Bristol Trader."—L.

[2] Patrick Robinson.—L.

David Lloyd makes a probable motion to me, which hear and consider.

Isaac Norris to Philip Ford.[1]

20th of 6th mo., 1701.

This comes per thy son, who returns per Puckle. I hope he will get safe home every way as well to your satisfaction as he came out: his character here is sober, and I hope the air of America will be no disadvantage to him. I must say he has carried himself with that good-nature and discretion in the family, that he has made his company very easy and pleasant to us, the little time he has been with us. I have no knowledge of his business, but hope he has managed as wisely as closely. I wish his prosperity every way, and that his years to come may yet increase thy comfort in him. . . . .

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, *6th 7br.*, 1701.

Prepare duplicates to go by Edward Shippen's ship, of what went last. I have writ to Lord Romney, and send it now to be copied. Remember to mention that received from the Lords of Trade, received since the other was writ in the duplicate of mine to them, with an account of the date of theirs, and that of its arrival. The Lords' letter is 15th April, 1701; the king's, 19th January, 1700, which I take to be a duplicate to me; but I cannot understand what they mean about proceedings in courts upon directions from the Lords Justices, which I cannot comprehend, for none I have but that about appeals. Our law makes no saving for them, though confirmed so by the king; a good argument to alter it before I go.

I hope J. Guest and T. Story are diligent therein, as also about the rest we left out for amendments.

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[1] [From the Norris MSS.—Editor.]

[The writer, as will be seen hereafter, changed his opinion of this young man, the object of whose visit to Pennsylvania had reference to the claim of the father against Penn.—Editor.]

I wish somewhat could be done, before I go, in the Newcastle affairs; 't is to me material also to account with S. Jennings, to whom it were fit thou writest on that head; I admire he delays it thus, but I confess I shall do little in some such matters till I see how things go with me on the other side. As to the rest, if hard, I must expect my right to the full. I have drawn up more of my memorial, in which I include that of the people with my own interest.

I would have the Wicaco business prepared for me against my return to town. Mind it. I am sorry thou hast not sent my New York letters, that I might have writ the needful. Was mine to Walter Clark enclosed and sent last post, as I desired? What is done at court; and has it adjourned? No more now than that we are well. Thy real friend, Wm. Penn.

Visit Cap. Finney in my name. I think to be in town Fourth or Fifth day. Ply David Lloyd discreetly; dispose him to a proprietary plan, and the privileges requisite for the people's and Friends' security. I had rather the lower counties began with me than I with them, else care not to hold the assembly of the province.

William Penn to James Logan.

Pennsbury, *8th 7br.*, 1701.

The necessity of my going makes it absolutely necessary for me to have a supply, and though I think a £1,000 should be forthwith raised, by Friends at least, to help me, yet, while land is high and valuable, I am willing to dispose of many good patches that else I should have chosen to have kept as everybody's money. To set about this, I desire T. Fairman and E. P. to come to me hither. I have opened my mind therein to them, and they have assured me that they will forthwith, a week now being more than six months another season. They will communicate to thee all they know and remember, and endeavor to find out what customers they can, and acquaint thee of the value to set on the premises, in order to immediate supplies. The present Welsh from England are divers of them rich, and

will want quantities, and T. Fairman undertakes to accommodate them handsomely. Lose not the opportunity. D. P. can go among them, to prevent others, and direct them to thee; and for quantities, none else can spare them, unless S. Carpenter[1] should sell his or part of his 5,000 acres, which I am apt to think he will not do. This highly concerns me; wherefore, lose no time. They tell me what David Lloyd has declared as to my powers in proprietary matters, by which I perceive it is public. Let him know my mind, occasionally, in company of S. Carpenter, &c. Now or never; and while he is on the draught of that scheme, follow thou my particular affairs with all possible vigilance and expedition; though how to return it I know not, unless in bills upon dollars sent to Maryland; and that way, I hope, I may be helped. If thou takest in brother Pennington to assist, it may do well; but all under present secrecy, not to be known, lest it stop others from a full and due provision. The iron is now hot; therefore strike. I fear, as mine by T. Eberden, to-day, too many, or more than two, going with me, will augment the charge, and so lessen my proportion of supply. Who can I take, that would go, that might be ministerial to me? Caleb Pusey, if he could write well, has the best drudging sense, and would be observant. If some go, they may, if not governable by me, act secretly, to my clogging, and in a way of distrust which would obstruct my treaty and negotiation. This is a conjecture at large. I will say no more of this now — only this: that those who would stay me for their own ends, may go for them, too; though I have enough to shame them there and everywhere else. Think of it sedately.

Thy amendments of the Bill of Property deliberate upon, for that is a cardinal point with me, to be sure; and Nicholas Waln and Anthony Morris should be treated with upon that head. Joseph Growdon, and J. Swift, who had the first choice, and would not serve without J. Growdon, but against them all; of 100 freeholders, there were but 31 present — an ill precedent for elections, and which I could regret, for many here are troubled

[1] This tract was in Philadelphia county, adjoining the manor of Morelands. (See old map.) — L.

at it, and have so declared themselves to me. I think to stay over their court, which will be next Fourth-day. Poor Phineas is a dying man, and was not at the election, though he crept, as I may say, to meeting, yesterday. I am grieved at it, for he has not his fellow, and without him, this is a poor country indeed.

I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with Fisher. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it; but, to all that speak of it, say I shall have no need to stay, and a great interest to return; all that I have to dispose of in this world is here,[1] for daughter and son, and all the issue which this wife is like to bring me, and that having no more gains by government to trust to for bread, I must come to sell, pay debts, and live, and lay up for this posterity, as well as that they may see that my inclinations run strongly to a country and proprietary life, which then I shall be at liberty to follow, together with her promise to return whenever I am ready to return. I confess this is one of the greatest arguments for some Friends of note going with us — to bring us back again; else they can do but little there, and their expense may better help me.

We want a little good Madeira wine, and some of the last white wine, if thou canst hit upon it. I am troubled at Judge Guest's heat to Samuel Carpenter — in a judge it is scandalous. Try to cool him. His being so indiscreet is his great fault. Fifth or Sixth day, expect me. Methinks Captain Finney might help us with English pay, and Thomas Fairman and cousin Asheton should try to get him to buy off some tracts and patches; and, indeed, it is his own interest as well as my convenience. I shall say no more; only let it be a measure fixed, that proprietor and freeholders can have but one interest, and that jealousies, as in England, are injurious and unreasonable. The ass in the fable, and the dog likewise. Vale.

Wm. Penn.

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[1] His Irish, and perhaps other, estates were entailed on his eldest son, William, then in England. — L.

P. S. — My leather stockings[1] are at Christopher's, or at T. E.'s, or in the house; send them, pray.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

PENNSBURY, *8th 7br.*, 1701.

I intend to go in the "Messenger," and as soon as may be after the assembly is up. Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Caleb Pusey, and Samuel Jennings — Samuel Carpenter and myself have talked of about going with me. Will it not devour what they should allow me, and signify nothing on t'other side, as to the bargain? For no man living can defend us or bargain for us better than myself. [2]Men that can be witnesses may do well. S. C., T. S., and H. Ro. agree as to proprietary powers and courts. Push that preparation by patent or bill, and remember that the law of courts has no saving upon appeals, as against the laws of England.

Let John bring up my other hair-trunk, my leather stockings, twelve bottles of Madeira wine, and as many of the new white wine, or six apiece.

B. Cool posts me over on diverse accounts, though my own chiefly, but his letters are a month older than Guy's.

If Cap. Finney would buy some near patches, and one of Fisher's lots before otherwise engaged, Thomas Fairman would be of use then to inform him, and might serve him; two or three more of such men would do well to balance the other party. I would have thee to get well with him, and the Independent priest also, for he is yet away, and bears Dissenters.

A runnel of ale from Philadelphia or Burlington should be brought us: we make our own small-beer. I think to be in town Fifth or Sixth day. Phineas[3] is very weak, more like to go than to remain. Vale. WM. P.

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[1] An old woman, at Chester, who could remember seeing the Lord Cornbury at that place, and observing him with particular attention because he was the queen's cousin and a lord, could find no difference between him and those she had been accustomed to see, but that he wore leather stockings. They were, probably, an ugly variety. — L.

[2] [These passages are obscure; something has been omitted in the manuscript. — EDITOR.]

[3] Phineas Pemberton: he died soon after the Proprietor's departure. — L.

Tell R. Janney the young man can neither plough nor mow, but has been mostly used to driving, is ready and good-natured, but swears. The young woman we should be glad to have, if possible, but think the young man not so fit.

Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary.[1]

26th of 7th mo., 1701.

. . . . Our assembly still sits, and my time almost taken up, that I am quite weary of state affairs. Judge Guest is made our chief judge, upon which Judge Growdon would not act as his inferior. Caleb Pusey is in, and what is the wonder of us all, Thomas Masters has, without taking his degree of a justice, leaped at once to be one of the five judges. . . . .

Isaac Norris to Daniel Zachary, of Boston.

Philadelphia, *3d 8th mo.*, 1701.

Our assembly still sits, and little done; for the Philistines be upon us still. They are now worse than ever, believing themselves cock-sure of the government change. Their endeavors are (I mean the lower county members and our malcontents here) to leave us, if possible, without laws or liberties — oppose anything that we offer for our settlement. Our governor is much grieved at this parting carriage of the people, and highly resents an address made to the assembly, and from them recommended to him. I know not how things will end, but at present they have a very ill visage.

Isaac Norris to Jeffry Pinnell.

Philadelphia, *27th 8br.*, 1701.

This comes by our proprietor and governor, Penn, who, with his family, are undertaking this hazardous voyage at too hard a

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[1] [Norris MSS. — Editor.]

season. I earnestly desire and pray for their preservation and safety—him we shall want. The unhappy misunderstandings in some, and unwarrantable opposition in others, have been a block to our plenary comforts in him, and his own quiet; but these things are externals only. Our communion in the church sweetens all, and our inward waitings and worships together have often been a general comfort and consolation; and in this I take a degree of satisfaction, after all, that we part in love; and some of his last words, in our meeting yesterday, were, "*That he looked over all infirmities and outwards, and had an eye to the regions of spirits, wherein was our surest tie;*" and, in true love, there he took his leave of us. His excellent wife—and she is beloved by all, I believe I may say in its full extent; so is her leaving us heavy, and of real sorrow to her friends—she has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are, I believe, extraordinary. *In short, we love her, and she deserves it.* I hope what I have said is to thee only; I request this to avoid a thought I would not give room for, since they are going home, but otherwise am proud (if I may so term it) to express my opinion, love, and affection of and to them anywhere.

The Proprietor's Agreement about the Charter for the Lower Counties.

Newcastle, 31*st* 8*br.*, 1701.

Because my time has been very short, and many matters of moment crowding at once upon me, I have not been able to digest and thoroughly consider the Charter of Property in all the branches of it, especially in point of courts, and powers therein expressed. I have thought fit, for a common safety, to forbear the complete passing of the same, until I see the state of affairs at home.

2*dly*. Because the lower counties are not included; and, till they either are included, or have a charter for their properties also, I cannot safely do it.

3*dly*. I shall, in the compass of 6 months, order the passing

of the said charter, under the Great Seal, if God give me life, unless affairs at home require us to change measures for the general good.

4*thly*. I do hereby declare, grant, and confirm the first part, relating strictly to titles of lands, as amply to be of force as if I executed the same, and only decline that of powers from necessary caution for a common safety.

Wherefore I do hereby order that my honored friend, Governor Hamilton, keep the said draft in his custody, signed by me, unsealed, till he hears from me; and if he hears not from me to the contrary, or my heirs, in 6 months' time, that then he suffer it to pass under the seal, and not otherwise; hereby promising to all concerned that that, or such an instrument in the substance thereof as counsel learned in the law in England shall advise to be safe for me and the people to pass, shall be by me executed, there or here, for our mutual further security.

In testimony of which, I do hereunto set my hand and seal, this 31st 9br., 1701. WILLIAM PENN. *** Seal.

I do also promise to the lower counties a charter of property suitable to our relation to one another, if they require it from me. WM. PENN. *** Seal.

INSTRUCTIONS TO JAMES LOGAN, MY RECEIVER AND SECRETARY.[1]

SHIPBOARD, 3*d* 9*br.*, 1701.

I have left thee in an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care, which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interest.

Use thy utmost endeavors, in the first place, to receive all that is due to me. Get in quit-rents; sell lands according to my instructions to my commissioners; look carefully after all fines,[2] forfeitures, escheats, deodands, and strays, that shall be-

[1] Indorsed by Logan: "Proprietor's last instructions to me, just at parting."

[2] We need not wonder that the secretary had enemies. It is Fenelon, I believe, that observes that "Requiring, denying, reproving, make almost all persons whose duty obliges them to use these means, hated."—L.

long to me as proprietor or chief governor. Get in the taxes and Friends' subscriptions, and use thy utmost diligence in making remittances to me, with all my effects, by bills of exchange, tobacco or other merchandise, or by any means that in the best of judgment, or the advice of my friends skilled in those affairs, may be my advantage, not only directly to London, but by the West Indies, or by any other prudent method whatsoever; but take advice especially of Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, and others best experienced in trade.

Thou may continue in the house[1] I lived in till the year is up. Pay off all my notes and orders on thee, settle my accounts, discharge all my debts honorably but carefully, make rent-rolls, draw up an estimate of my estate, and of what may be raised from it, which send over to me as speedily as possible, for it may be of great use to me; and in all other things show thyself a careful and diligent agent, to justify my trust of thee for so great a trust.

Get my two mills[2] finished, and make the most of these for my profit, but let not John Marsh put me to any great expense.

Cause all the province and territories to be resurveyed in the most frugal manner, with the assistance of my brother-in-law, Edward Penington, within the two years limited by the law, if possible, though that law ought not to be a bar upon me against doing it at any other time. Carry very fair with my said brother-in-law, and prevail with him to be as easy as possible in that great work. I have spoken to him about it.

Thou must make good to Col. Hamilton, my deputy governor, two hundred pounds per annum of your money, till such time as I procure an approbation for him, and afterwards three hundred pounds. Also to John Moore, as attorney-general, thirty pounds a year, so long as he shall serve me faithfully:

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[1] In Second Street (now opposite the Bank of Pennsylvania): it had then a fine large lot and garden annexed to it.—L. [The northwest corner of the Corn Exchange now occupies its site.—EDITOR.]

[2] [One of these mills stood upon what was afterwards known as the site of the Globe Mill, at the north end of the city, on the west side of Germantown Road, between the present Canal Street and Girard Avenue.—EDITOR.]

but he is too much in Quary's interest. When my cousin Parmyter comes, he must have forty pounds, but I hope the assembly will take these charges off my hands. Pray use all your endeavors to obtain it. Judge Guest expects one hundred a year from me. I would give him fifty. Make him as useful and easy as you can: I hope Col. Hamilton, to whom I have recommended him, will prevail on him.

Let not my cousin Durant want, but be sparing to her.

Write to me diligently, advising me of everything relating to my interest, and send me affidavits about Quary, Jno. Corsoe, etc.

Send all the household goods up to Pennsbury, unless thou inclines to keep sufficient furniture for a chamber to thyself, for which thou hast my leave: take care that nothing be damnified or lost.

Give my dear love to all my friends, who I desire may labor to soften angry spirits, and to reduce them to a sense of their duty; and at thy return give a small treat in my name to the gentlemen at Philadelphia, for a beginning to a better understanding, for which I pray the Lord to incline their hearts for their own ease, as well as mine and my friends.

For thy own services I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable, either by commission or a salary. But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully as thou expects a blessing from God or my favor, and I shall support thee to my utmost, as Thy true friend, WILL. PENN.

SHIP DOLMAHOY, 3*d* 9*br.*, 1701.[1]

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[1] At the foot of these instructions are these memoranda:

Remember,

S. Weaver's affidavit,	Jos. Carpenter, C. Read, etc., affidavit.
R. Stocton's money,	R. Halliwell and his land,
S. Jennings's account,	Newcastle Welsh settlement,
Edward Gibbs's account,	J. Sotcher and Pennsbury,
Geo. Decon's,	Blackwell's papers.

The following is the agreement made by Penn with the master of the *Dolmahoy:*

Agreed, this 12th of October, 1701, between Governor William Penn and Captain John Fitch, commander of the ship Dolmahoy, as follows:

That the said governor shall have the full and free use of the whole

[The following list will give a good idea of the style and amount of furniture used in a first-class mansion at that day. It does not appear whether it includes the furniture sent up from Philadelphia on the departure of the Proprietor. — EDITOR.]

COPY OF A PAPER ENTITLED, "A CATALOGUE OF GOODS LEFT AT PENNSBURY, THE 3D OF THE 10TH MONTH, 1701."

In the Best Chamber.

One bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 silk quilt, 1 suit of satin curtains; 1 table and pair of stands, 1 looking-glass, 6 cane chairs, and 2 with twiggen bottoms; 1 little black box, 1 water-stand, 1 chamber chair; 1 pair of brasses, with fire-shovel and tongs, 1 little cane stool, 4 satin cushions.

In the Next Chamber.

One bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 India quilt, 1 suit of camblet curtains, with white head-cloth and tester; 6 cane chairs, with cushions, 1 table, 1 looking-glass; 1 pair of brasses, and a fire-shovel.

In the Next Chamber.

One wrought bed, with bolster, pillows, blankets, and counterpane; 1 table and stand, 6 wooden chairs, and 1 cane ditto.

In the Nursery.

One pallet bedstead, 1 table, 1 screen; 2 chairs of Master John's, and 2 rush-bottomed chairs; 1 pair brasses, with fire-shovel and tongs.

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great cabin of the ship, in her voyage from Pennsylvania to London, to himself and family; for which he shall pay the said captain, at London, 50 guineas. And for every person going in the said cabin, (a young child excepted,) £3 per head, for their necessary accommodations of fire, water, &c., and storage of provisions; for such passengers as lie out of the cabin, and eat of the ship's provisions, £6 per head, and for those that do not eat of the same. That, for all such dry-goods and packages as the said captain must pay E. Shippen freight for, the said governor shall pay the captain after the same rate. That, in case the captain should be obliged to sail without the governor, he shall then be paid at London for his disappointment. In witness whereof, the said parties have hereunto interchangeably set their hands the day and year first above written.*

[* From the Logan MSS., Hist. Society, Penna. — EDITOR.]

In the Next Chamber.

One bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 1 blanket, quilt, and suit of striped linen curtains; 1 table, 4 rush-bottomed chairs.

In the Entry.

Two chests of drawers, 2 trunks, and 1 box.

In the Garrets.

Four bedsteads, 2 beds, 1 quilt, 1 rug, 2 blankets; three side-saddles, one of which is my mistress's; 2 pillows, 1 cloth.

In the Lower Rooms:—Best Parlor.

Two tables, 1 pair stands, 2 great cane chairs, and 4 small do.; 7 cushions, four of them satin, the other three green plush; 1 pair brasses, brass fire-shovel, tongs, and fender; 1 pair bellows; 2 large maps.

The other Parlor.

Two tables, 6 chairs, 1 great leathern chair; 1 clock; pair of brasses; 1 teapot, 6 cups and saucers, 2 basins.

In the Little Hall.

Six leather chairs and two wooden ones; 5 maps.

Great Hall.

One long table, and 2 forms, 6 chairs, 1 little table, 1 napkin-press; 3 very large pewter dishes, 6 lesser ones, 6 of the best pewter, 4 soup-dishes, 2 pie-plates, 2 cheese-plates, 2 doz. of the London plates and 4 doz. of the common ones, 2 stands, 5 mazarines, 1 cullender, 2 cisterns, 2 rings, 1 doz. and 10 patty-pans.

Linen and Plate in the Great Red Trunk.

Two pair fine Holland sheets, marked W. P.; 2 pair pillow-cases, 1 marked P. C., the other marked W. P. H.; 1 table and sideboard cloth of fine damask; also, 18 napkins, 2 towels (damask) marked P.; 1 table and 1 sideboard cloth, 12 napkins, marked W. P. H.; 5 towels, marked P., all of fine Irish diaper; 3 table-cloths and 2 long towels, marked P.; 21 napkins, marked P. 24; 1 sideboard-cloth, 1 table-cloth, 12 napkins, marked W. P. H. in eyelet-holes, of fine Dutch diaper. In all, 2 pair sheets, 2 pair pillow-cases, 9 table-cloths, 7 doz. and 10 napkins, 5 lesser table-cloths, 9 towels, 10 calico curtains, and 4 damask ones.

Plate.

One large tankard, 1 basin, 6 salts, 1 skillet, 5 plates, 7 spoons, 1 little spoon, 2 forks, 2 porringers, 2 little cups, one marked I. P., the other, H. C.; a small candlestick and snuffers; 1 chafing-dish.

In my Mistress's Closet.

Four chairs, with needle-worked cases; 2 hanging shelves; some chinaware and glasses.

In the Little Closet below.

Four large delf dishes, 4 lesser ones, 1 large white basin, 2 lesser ditto, 16 white plates, 10 blue ditto, 4 flower-basins; some ordinary earthenware, and the set of Tunbridge-ware.

Chest of drawers.

Five pair of large warm sheets, 5 pair lesser ones, marked P. in red; 7 pair pillow-cases, 9 marked P. in red, 5 marked W. P. H.; 4 pair coarser, ditto, 3 pair W. P. H.; 4 pair small, ditto, marked P. in red. In all, 6 table-cloths, 5 sideboard ditto, 12 towels, 4 doz. napkins, 11 napkins, 3 table-cloths, 7 napkins (older ones).

In a Great Box.

Nine coarse sheets, marked W. P. H. in blue; 6 pair whiter ditto, marked as before; 2 pair, marked P. in blue; 7 pair pillow-cases, 9 coarse towels, 2 long ones, 3 huckaback table-cloths; 2 doz. napkins, huckaback; 3 table-cloths, Osnaburgs.[1]

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 2*d* 10*br.*, 1701.

Hon. Governor:—This, 't is hoped, will find thee, through the good providence of God, safely arrived on the English shore, which is the repeated desire and prayer of thousands here.

By the last post from New York before this, we were informed that next week would be early enough to write by the first ship to sail from thence; but by this we are surprised to hear that Sam will scarce be able to recover her in time, which,

[1] [In a valuable paper, "*The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn*," by Mr. J. Francis Fisher, *III. Memoirs of Hist. Society of Penna.*, 1836, will be found an interesting account of Pennsbury and the Proprietor's mode of life at his rural home.—Editor.]

with Gov. Hamilton's absence, who is now at Amboy, makes me incapable of sending all designed by this opportunity.

The enclosed letters came ten days ago, one excepted, by way of Boston, some under the cover of the agent, and some in Daniel Zachary's; they were opened on account of what might be contained of public concern within.

In the agent's was one from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, proving only a duplicate of the last thou received at Pennsbury, and was read in council according to order. In answer to one clause, in which requiring an account of our method of court proceedings, is sent, by order of council under the great seal, the late law passed for that purpose; and in answer to another injunction in the same, 't is ordered that the whole body of all the laws in force be sent over with all expedition, but they could not be got ready. It was also thought fit to send an authentic copy of the last law of marriage, the better to obviate, if there should be occasion, what objections may arise from the former; the two mentioned covers are sent you.

Enclosed also comes a copy of the charter of privilege, one of the intended charter of property, which I hope thou wilt take early care enough to prevent being forfeited, because likely, if so, to be on many heads injurious. Also one of the city charter, to be at hand in case any objection should be made upon that clause appointing a water-bailiff, or Anthony Morris's being named as alderman. I intended several other copies, but by the above-mentioned disappointments am too much straitened.

The list of inhabitants ordered to be sent over I can by no means get ready now, that of Chester not being sent up yet; but shall not fail to press and hasten it.

I can see no hopes of getting material subscriptions from those of the Church against the report of persecution, they having consulted together on that head, and, as I am informed, concluded that not allowing their clergy here what they of right claim in England, and not suffering them to be superior, may justly bear that name.[1]

[1] [See Appendix, Note 1. — EDITOR.]

Col. Quary, before his departure, got and took over with him several subscriptions, which I doubt may prove mischievous, but all is kept so private among them, there is no possibility of knowing with any certainty what they are.

All things have gone very smooth and easy since thy departure, without the least obstruction or emotion. Coming up from the Capes I called on Rodney, and such others as were viewed violent, and leading men, and left them very easy and good-natured in appearance; and when I came to town, I made bold to give a small treat at Andrews's to the governor, Richard Halliwell, Jasper Yeats, J. Moore, and some such others, about a dozen, including T. Farmer, and the other owners of the small yacht or vessel the family went down to Newcastle in, on thy behalf and in thy name, which being very well timed and managed, was, I have reason to believe, of good service. 'T is not that I could think it my place to take such things upon me, but at that time I could not have been dissuaded from it.

There happened, however, the very first day after I came to town, an occasion of some clashing between the admiralty and civil powers, by R. Asheton's taking a bond, with the governor's consent, of William Righton to produce a certificate from Jamaica for a parcel of indigo, the rats having eaten his papers at sea. I fear it will make a subject of complaint, but not by this opportunity. Par. Parmyter, who was the chief mover and adviser in it, I suppose will advise thee by this ship at large about it, with a full state of the case, and the governor per next, especially if J. Moore should write, who hath promised to do nothing on that head but what he will first expose here to view. Having done all that can be by Quary, he is very willing, I perceive, to live as quiêt as possible, and keeps on very friendly [terms] with the governor when here, which 't is thought will be the best course on our sides also, till we see how affairs are like to be determined there, which will be earnestly expected; but the court we fear will have other business of too great importance to give this the necessary dispatch.

If any disturbance arise, it is like to be by distraining for the tax, which is not begun yet, yesterday being the first day it could be done for the second payment; and that being so high,

it was thought best to bring both together, and prevent exasperating the people too much by making two distresses, first for the one moiety and again for the other. They are going on in Chester county, and I have good promises from Bucks: this town alone is the unhappy place, but I hope we shall resolutely break through it. 'T is generally expected it must be paid, but in Chester county great endeavors have been used, 't is easily guessed by whom, to scatter poison, especially by repeating that thou hadst left the charters unsealed. Andrew Job came up upon it very much startled, but returned thoroughly satisfied; for it was said the assembly were mocked, and though that of privileges was so often sent to them, and their speaker as a mark of their acceptance had signed it, yet thou would not finish it, but made a sham of the whole: this was the notion, though not quite thus represented by the author, yet his is really very malicious, and holds little good correspondence with any that I see. There are none that I hear of uneasy about charter of property that know how things really are, and there is no ground, as far as can be yet seen, to be gotten on that head, but by false representations.

The Susquehanna subscriptions go not as briskly on as at first, chiefly through the undertakers' want of time, because of the fair, &c., but it is intended to be pressed forward with vigor, though thy absence is no small damp to all things of that kind.

The assistance money is now, one moiety I think, become due, and will be forthwith collected, as far may be; but the scarcity of money in the country, and neither want of substance nor inclination, makes many to hold their hands. The new alderman and that rogue Pentecost Teague,[1] last quarterly meeting, utterly refused to subscribe one farthing.

The law for preventing abuses in trade, &c., passed at thy first coming, and on which thou valued thyself with the crown, is utterly repealed by the last clause in the last act of confirmation,

[1] [We know of nothing in the history of this person to justify, were it intended in a general sense, the use of the phrase applied to him, and therefore judge the writer meant to express his opinion of the act of refusal, which his zeal for the interest of his principal led him to characterize by a strong term.—EDITOR.]

and with it the tonnage is dropped. Whether designed by the assembly or not, I know not, but 't is unhappy none of the council took notice of it. This must make me hold my hand with respect to the buoys in the river; it was to continue in force only till twenty days after the rising of the assembly in 1703. We have been threatened about the tonnage, and bid the person defiance, having never discovered the repeal till yesterday; but now, I believe, must let it fall.

The thousand acres was, last week, cut off from thy tract in East Jersey, on the west side. I gave directions on the east, having had 300 pounds bid for it, if laid there; but, upon trial, we were obliged to take it so, as it would not accommodate the man, though on the east side; and, therefore, the west was, for several reasons, thought better. . . .

The governor is not yet sworn; the reasons I leave to his own pen — as also that about W. Righton. The computation of what money may be raised is the best we could make up in the time. It is wide, to be sure, in several particulars; some over and some under — most of the latter, I believe. That of overplus and concealed lands, I hope, is not above one-third, and that of Newcastle vacancies, above one-half of what may be raised in some time; but to make even what we have given answer, it will be necessary that there be care taken to transport families; and if, upon a good bargain, thou couldst thyself make a speedy return, it will be the only or best way to effect it. I can make no judgment of what there may be in the two lower counties; if good colonists were brought into them, as of those in Newcastle, there might be raised some thousands of pounds. But the post straitens me; therefore, with all due regard, conclude.

Thy most dutiful JAMES LOGAN.

We intend to set about re-surveys with all expedition. Pray be pleased to favor us with all opportunities of writing.

William Penn to James Logan.

Kensington, *4th 11th mo.*, 1701.

Thou wilt hear, long ere this comes to hand, I doubt not, of all our safe arrival, through the great and continued mercies of God; save my leg got a small rub about four days before our coming into the Channel, which, by contrary applications in town, has disabled me from having the benefit of my swift passage, as I might otherways have had. We were but twenty-six days from land to soundings, twenty-eight to the start in Devonshire, and thirty to Portsmouth. N. Puckle was but thirty-four days, and Guy went north about, after gaining within two hundred leagues of the *Lizzard* in less than eighteen days, which made his passage eleven weeks, and the letters but just delivered before my coming to London, but not before our arrival at Portsmouth.

Nothing yet done in my affairs, but my coming I do more and more see necessary, on divers accounts; though a troublesome and costly journey. My son has been very serviceable, but costly, and half given away *soy memes*[1] for the country. In some respects, I am not without good hopes of a tolerable conclusion, though it will not be obtained without charge and pains. They that seek the ruin of proprietaries, they say, will renew their bill, but try the Commons first this time. I shall say little of that affair; only, pray fail not to send what I do so much need, and which was so indiscreetly disregarded, viz.: all requisite certificates and affidavits that are yet behind, as to our conduct, and that of our foolish and knavish enemies. Also, pray fail not to get in and return what moneys were allotted for my supply in this affair, with all possible speed; and not only as to that branch, but the lands of East Jersey and the other supply and rents, for there is a most absolute necessity to receive them with all speed, and then return them. For performing of which, let no other business come into competition, as thou wilt be a just man and recommend thyself to me and all that regard thee here. In order to which, mind to remit

[1] [Old French. — Editor.]

bear and deer skins, tobacco bright, bills on Maryland, and flour to Barbadoes, &c.

Pray let not gratifying the unreasonable importunity of the planters hinder thy care of my languishing interest, since, by my rents lying out, I have lost that interest, that would have paid the interest of my debts, who have only the principal left, and that I know not when to balance both my debts and interest.

James, let thy good sense and address in such matters of trade and accounts be religiously employed in my assistance and relief. I must expect it; but, whatever thou dost, fail not to send me the probabilities of the value of rents due, supplies, Susquehanna project, lands salable, banks,[1] &c., that I may make a judgment to myself, and a good argument to others, as occasion offers for my service here. Get in all debts due to me; as J. Claypool's, Ch. Marshall's, &c., according to notes and bonds in J. Harrison's time. Be not hasty to end with S. Jennings,[2] for reasons we discoursed. However, my daughter's bank lot ought to be part of pay, since never improved, and of all men were expected to be so surprised. I greatly esteem him, but cannot bear to be greatly a loser by him. Remember G. Heathcote's business, the date of his patent and surprise upon the Commissioners. If the two Proprietaries, in right of which J. Ross took up 20,000 acres in West Jersey for me, be not allowed, get them allowed, or an order to take up so much above the Falls,[3] where is excellent land on that side, as S. Jennings told me, and which Mahlon Stacy told him of, and which the Indian that owns it promised me not to sell till I came, or without my consent, unless to me, of which Josh. Kirkbride and, I think, some others can inform thee. Francis Fairman can manage such an affair well enough, and speaks that Indian pretty well, whose brother Robert was with me t'other day.

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[1] [That is, bank lots on the Delaware front. — EDITOR.]

[2] Samuel Jennings was a very early settler, and had been deputy-governor of West Jersey. A farm, now belonging to Richard H. Smith, I have heard was the place of his residence the latter years of his life. — L.

[3] [At Trenton. — EDITOR.]

Col. Quary comes on purpose to do us mischief, (sent for hence by the party,) as well as to himself what good he can. Let the council and W. Rodney, if you can, be attested about those words improved by ignorance or malice, about laying them by the heels that should disown the government. There may be need of it. Also, thine of Col. Quary's professions to me, and that the reason of writing that letter, enclosing the sheriff's commission, he took such pains to recover, was on account of the affidavits I had sent, as he was assured, against him. I must have the affidavits of the former appraisers, Charles Read, etc., about Lumby's[1] goods, and the words that induced them to lower them so much from their true value. I must have one of bailing the pirates by Col. Quary and Bass, too, as also widow Barnet's not being paid by the first, though the money was kept by him for that purpose, as he told me; and the requisite affidavits about Bonne's vessel and Perry's goods — wine, iron, and linen — and what sold for, is essential; as also, T. Farmer's about my commanding upon Col. Quary's complaint, that he proceeded no farther, and afterwards my ordering thee to take it up.

Next, forget not the Spaniard's case, and suitable affidavits. His counsel, J. Moore, said, in my hearing, I could neither do nor say more nor otherwise than I offered him; [this] lest any wrangle follow on his account. Captain Burford, instead of satisfaction, has most falsely spread stories against us to his owners, and troubled Friends therein, and all for want of care to send on against him, as I so often urged. Pray let it be done.

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[1] Lumbey's case, so often mentioned in these letters, appears to have been a hard one. He was master of the ship *Providence*, who, mistaking our capes for that of Virginia, having never been on the coast before, and after a distressing voyage of five months, was seized by Quary, on the pretence of some informality about a register, though the captain and ten others took their oaths that the vessel was registered; and three of the principal merchants offered, for the sake of trade, to be bound in £3,000 security, that the owners should stand trial in England, if the ship might go her voyage; but Quary refused, and informed against the merchants, as enemies of the admiralty jurisdiction. He had the goods appraised and sold. W. Penn gave up his one-third immediately to the owners, and, by a re-appraisement, raised the value of the cargo — no malice or design of fraud appearing, except on the part of Quary himself, and Moore his advocate. — L.

One of his greatest stories was my imprisoning his mate and doctor, and forcing from them great sums of money. Philip James and honest R. Bryant's daughter, at Newcastle, can inform thee fully whose attests would do well.

Whatever was forgotten send (if not already sent); but I hope the copies of the charter of property, the laws, &c., are not with several of these things *now* to be sent to me. I shall send a copy of the articles, and would have Col. Markham clear his part, and all else concerned, lest there should be occasion.

There is a swamp between the Falls and the meeting-house; I gave the Falls people, formerly, leave to cut timber in it for their own use, which they have almost spoiled, cutting for sale, coopery, &c., which now, or in a little time, would be worth some thousands. Phineas Pemberton knows this business; let all be forbid to cut there any more, and learn who have been the wasters of timber, that hereafter they may help to clear the rubbish parts that will be fit for use, or give me tree for tree, when I or my order shall demand it.

This piratical latitude too many have of thinking they can do me no wrong, and of making bold with other folks' things, is a great dishonor to America, and (also) of making no returns in seven years' time, of which I have heard enough and too much already; some public course must be taken therein, or we shall be laid under mighty disgrace.

There is twelve pounds of good chocolate, sent us about two months ago: let Rebecca Shippen have two pounds; Hannah Carpenter, two pounds; Governor Hamilton's wife, two pounds; Mary Norris, two pounds; Hannah Hill, two pounds; Rachel Preston, two pounds. Consign all thou sendest for me to Edward Singleton in Barbadoes. No need that R. E. knows of it; his presents, poor man, exceed his returns — this to thyself. Mind the sale of the widow Calvert's land, that both the widow Harris, of Dublin, and myself may be paid. Search Brother Penington's office, if any returns are to be found for Geo. Shore, of Ireland. Honest A. Strettle writes to Ed. Singleton to ask me of both; and let me know if he is returned, by catalogue, one of the first two purchases that is in thy hands. Let Ed. Hopton have a patent for his land of Poquesin, if T. Fair-

man see good. Be sure to use and secure him, as we discoursed, losing no time. I. Hop is glad his son came not; talks of returning. I hope thy eye is upon the means to retrench expenses; and, pray, see the utmost, at a leisure hour, of poor Marsh's project of navigating flats up Schoolkill and Susquehanna rivers, above the Falls; he assuring me that he could make the experiment for 40*s*. Be it 50 or £3, it were a mighty advantage. I enclose a paper I found in my pocket of Eliz. Bermil's: if her request is reasonable, let her be considered. All letters for me, wife, or daughter, or S. C., send back; except such as come from the government here, for they are indorsed always, "For the King's Service." I had a letter Lord Cornbury sent me from Spithead, that Secretary Vernon wrote me by him, to bespeak my acquaintance and friendship, and good and intimate correspondence in America, as Bellamont and I had done before; which looks as if he came upon the same footing, and as if he had no thought of my being defeated of my government. Sir H. Ashurst told me, yesterday, there would be nothing done in it, he believed. He lives in Kensington, and is agent for New England. So says (also) a lawyer used at bottom on that side. Divers tell me that Colonel Dudley has been an enemy and a flatterer to the attempts upon English charters, which, if true, I am sorry for; but I shall, I hope, defeat all those designs, for I find the great people of both Houses lend me conversation upon the state and reasons of the case. I shall do the best I can for future safety to the people and my family as one common interest.

I know not of any more, as yet, by this opportunity of the *Messenger*, Captain Puckle, in 14 or 20 days, at most, as they say, by whom I purpose to write of all occurring to us; and also, by the same opportunity, general letters to Gov. Hamilton and Council; but, by the way, send what thou canst by Guy — bear and buck skins, (for they bear an advance,) and good bright tobacco. I hear but an indifferent character of the judge,[1] by Lewis M. [Morris], as formerly an usher of a writing-school, and not at all moral. More by next. If in the least he tricks, use him accordingly. My leg is better. Wife and father and

[1] Judge Guest. This is refuted in another letter as a calumny. — L.

child are going, this week, for Bristol. My son and family well; a sweet girl and a Saracen of a boy; his wife — a good and pretty woman — at Bristol, on her father's account, who is dead and buried. I. Cosgarm marries Betty.[1] There is a letter for thee, on account of his business in Kent county, which put in as good a way as thou canst, for my son is interested.

With my true love to all my good friends, as if I named them, desiring the Lord to be among you in wisdom, love, and fear, I close, and am their and thy assured friend, Wm. Penn.

P. S. — My love to my family. I writ by an English ship, last week — in short, not time to read it — that if John and Mary come, his brother leaving him £150, if he come in two years for it, that Hugh be steward and gardener, and old Peter go to the garden when needful; and that Phineas Pemberton's wife and daughter see to the bedding and linen, once a month. Mind that the leads be mended. I pray God continue poor Phineas. We all remember you all, in your respective capacities, with much love and regard, and Pennsylvania will not be forgotten. Remember me to all officers in government, and to deserving friends, &c. A rumor, within two days, of the King of Sweedland's being lately in hazard in an engagement; but he resolves not to return home till he has resettled Sapieha over Oginsky and the King of Poland. He has made a great beginning. I send the King's speech, Lords' and Commons' address, whence a war, wisely if they can, is likely to ensue. "Cut your coat according to your cloth," and "make hay while the sun shines;" for England and Ireland cannot supply the islands with provisions.

Ought I to allow S. Jennings a salary certain for receiver, and he not receive, but I must pay another for receiving that he left behind? Poundage is the fairest, unless all had been received. If he says I ordered him to let the sheriffs receive, it was to save charges, being my officers, and could do it with the county levies all at once, and who got by their places, and not to pay two shillings in the pound — one-tenth of the whole — and he a salary for only receiving it of them and using it himself; but

[1] Probably, the sister of Wm. Penn, Jr.'s wife. — L.

W. Rodney was no sheriff, nor B. Chew; nor did J. Hill desist after out of the sheriff's place. If he says he did not receive all because I forbade the tenants to pay, why any, or more than I drew for? and why of the ablest, when I said only of the doubtful or hazardous? and why suffer Gibbs to run £700 in arrear, to live upon my rents, and yet charge receiver's salary for the same time? Why let my goods—his inventory taken says were all at Pennsbury, when he had the charge—be lost or embezzled, without a quarterly or yearly survey; never once done in twelve years' running? These things have sorrowful and wounding touches in them, of all which make a wise use, and keep all as quiet as may be, till things here are over. My son shall hasten; possess him, go with him to Pennsbury, advise him, contract, and recommend his acquaintance. No rambling to New York, nor mongrel correspondence. He has promised fair; I know he will regard thee; but thou wilt see that I have purchased the mighty supplies at a dear rate. God forgive those wretched people that have misused me so, and preserve my spirit over it. Pennsylvania has been a dear Pennsylvania to me all over, which few consider and with me lay to heart. Be discreet; he has wit, kept the top company, and must be handled with much love and wisdom; and urging the weakness or folly of some behaviors, and the necessity of another conduct from interest and reputation, will go far; and get Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, Phineas Pemberton, Thomas Masters, and such persons, to be soft, and kind, and teaching. It will do wonders with him; he is conquered that way, pretends much to honor, and is but over-generous by half, and yet sharp enough to get to spend. He cannot well be put on. All this keep to thyself. I have no time to compare it. Vale.

Let brother Penington know his relations are well. Lord Cornbury comes upon the Church favor; but Whig principles, as people talk. Pray desire Governor Hamilton and our folks to carry a good correspondence with him.

An Account of Charges paid on the Account of Privateers which were fetched from the Newcastle Hoarkills, by the order of the Governor, as followeth:

2d 6th mo., 1701.

	£.	s.	d.
To George Lamb, for victuals, drink, and horses	4	9	6
To Ralph Whitton, for horse hire	1	4	0
To John Hussy, for horse hire	1	4	0
To Mr. Addam Peeterson, for expense	0	15	0
To my own trouble and charge	2	0	0
Errors excepted	9	12	6

Per Wessl. Alricks.

Received the foregoing sum of nine pounds, twelve shillings, from Mr. Logan, per me. Wessl. Alricks.

William Penn to James Logan.

[*Extract.*] Kensington, *4th 11th mo.*, 1701.

Let John Sachel know his brother is dead, and has left him £150 if he come in two years for it—who died above six months ago, so that he must come, and Hugh must supply his place; and if Mary will not stay, then let Hugh double his care and answer within and without; but some she friend in the neighborhood may come once a month or two, to see the condition of things. Our love to our family; and we desire their care in improvement and persevering, which, with our dear love, and father Callowhill's, now here, ends this from

Thy assured friend, Wm. Penn.

We had a swift passage—twenty-six days from the cape to soundings, and thirty Portsmouth, with five of the last days clear for observation, before we came to the channel. The captain very civil, and all company. Tishe[1] and Johnne, after the first five days, hearty and well, and Johnne exceeding cheerful all the way.

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[1] His daughter Letitia, and his infant son.—L.

William Penn to James Logan.

[*Extract.*] Kensington, *January*, 1701–2.

. . . . Give our hearty salutes to all our good and true friends; next, let them know I have good hopes things will do pretty well; 3dly, that I want supplies in this case; 4thly, all the affidavits I ordered, and copies of the charter of property and laws; 5thly, I command thee to tell the governor and council that I will have nothing done in the charter left unfinished till I send orders from hence; 6thly, hasten in my rents and debts, and transmit them with all possible speed as fast as thou canst, for I expect a war. I depend upon thy ability and vigilancy in getting in and remitting by all ways that best present. 7thly, remember Perry's affair; Charles Read's affidavit about the first low appraisement of Lumbey's goods, who bailed the pirates at Burlington, &c. I must leave the rest to my own memorandums and thy recollections. The parliament sat down last third-day; chose R. Harley again, with a small majority; much lost on Sir T. L.'s side; both my acquaintance. Little to be said—only a bill of attainder against the Prince of Wales proposed to be brought in to-day.[1] Sir Charles Hedges out or laid down. I have writ to Governor Hamilton,[2] by Lord Corn-

[1] [Parliament sat on Tuesday, December 30, 1701, when they elected Mr. Harley speaker, over Sir Thomas Lyttleton, by a majority of four votes. The bill which was introduced early in January, attainting James Francis Edward, son of James II., by his second wife, Louisa Maria Theresa, passed finally on the 2d of March, 1701–2.—Editor.]

[2] [Andrew Hamilton. "The encomiums bestowed upon the integrity and abilities of Governor Hamilton by the proprietaries have already been noticed, and from what is there shown of his administration, we may believe their confidence to have been well bestowed. His qualities, as a man, appear to have made him more esteemed in the province than any of his predecessors, but we are debarred the satisfaction of regarding him in the private walks of life in consequence of the few materials furnished by the existing records of his time.

"When recommended to Lord Neill Campbell, by the proprietaries, for the services he had rendered during two previous visits to the province, he was authorized to receive forty pounds sterling, or a grant for 500 acres of land, whichever he might elect, in consideration of the "charges and paines" he had incurred. It is also stated that he was about "transferring his family towards the improvement of his planta-

bury. Communicate this to him and council so far as thou thinkest fit, &c.

William Penn to James Logan.

Kensington, 3*d* 12*th mo.*, 1701.

I must renew my pressings upon thee about returns; for I find £140 sterling more, besides the £300 employed last year, and what I sent by bill for Squire L., our agent. I have writ to Friends, and superscribed it to S. Carpenter, to quicken returns; for I perceive by the votes of the day the House of Commons have ordered the state of the plantations to be laid before them — and just now a lawyer sends me word he is offered to be feed against me by Col. Quarry,[1] who is now come to do us all the mischief he can. Hasten over rents, and all thou canst,

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tion," but whether we are to include a wife among the number is uncertain, for after he had been some time in the province, he married Ann, the widow of Robert Wharton, of New York, and daughter of the former deputy governor Rudyard. He may have married again subsequently, for in his will his widow and legatee is called Agnes. He died at Amboy, 26th 2d month, (April,) 1703, then holding the office of deputy governor of Pennsylvania, to which he had been appointed on the first of November, 1701. He being selected by William Penn as his representative is an additional proof of his worth.

No connection has been traced between Governor Hamilton and Andrew Hamilton, the eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, who died in 1741, but it is probable some relationship existed. The governor left one son, John, who subsequently held several offices in New Jersey, under the royal provincial government, and has the credit of devising the scheme for the establishment of post-offices in the colonies. He obtained a patent for it in 1694, and afterwards sold his right to the crown. — *Whitehead's East Jersey*, 155. — Editor.]

[1] ["Col. Robert Quary was governor of South Carolina for a short period in 1684; but the proprietaries having intelligence of the encouragement given by him to pirates, dismissed him from office in 1685, when he became secretary of the province. He, however, was again governor in 1690." — *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, i. 86; ii. 410, 412. "He was afterwards Judge of the Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania, and a sort of government spy in this country. He was a member of the council of five governments at one time, viz.: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and died about the year 1712–13." — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vii. 222. Note by E. B. O'Callaghan, *V. Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of New York, p.* 199. — Editor.]

for many call upon me for old scores, thinking I have brought over all the world with me. The war is likely, and goods bear a price. Deer-skins, bear-skins, tobacco (good by itself and bad by itself)—and then one sells the other. Hasten over the affidavits that I have writ for in my larger letter that comes with this; since which have had a fever, but recovered through God's mercy. I would hope the other business of the House may take them up. I am sure it is too great to suffer them to look into America as it deserves and needs they should. The Jerseys' surrender[1] is an ugly preface; however, there is a higher hand to which I look. Let's do our duty, and leave the rest with God.

My wife and Little Johnne well at Bristol; Tishe (Lætitia) with me. Son and wife at Bristol upon C. Jones' death. I send a packet to thee that was from him—may give thee light, though

[1] ["Although the proprietaries persisted in terming this surrender a voluntary act, and asserting their right to have retained the government if they had pleased to do so, they appear to have been swayed in some measures by the threat of an expensive suit with the Crown, which had determined to bring the validity of their pretensions to trial. In the instrument of surrender, the Queen, while she declared her gracious acceptance of the power resigned to her by the proprietaries, expressly refuses to acknowledge that these powers ever legally belonged to them."

The privileges of the New Jersey colonist were not so extensive under the new order of things as they were before. The twelve councillors who formed the upper house were nominated by the Crown, and it was made optional with the governor to forward to England for approval any laws they might pass or to disallow them. The governor had the power to suspend members of the council, to appoint others in their places, to establish courts, and to commission all officers, both civil and military.

While "Quakers were declared eligible" to office, and were allowed to take an affirmation instead of an oath, liberty of conscience "was assured to all men *except Papists*." The governor was directed to "take especial care" that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served;" but at the same time the Royal African Company of England was to be fostered and encouraged by the governor—an association whose principal functions were to capture negroes and to sell them as slaves in America. To be sure, *inhuman severity* was not to be allowed, and it was made a capital offence to murder a slave. *All printing* was prohibited without the governor's permission."—*I. Graham's Colonial History of the United States, p.* 486, *in note.*—EDITOR.]

no power how to help his. The three daughters, I think, or son and wife, administer. All amicable among the relations. Once more, returns and affidavits with speed, or the consequences may be ill every way. My love to Friends and all sober people in the government—town or country. Pay my debts as fast as thou canst. I have heard better of Judge Guest by Captain Guest, mercer, in Paternoster Row. Miss no opportunity, direct or eastward, pray. Tell Wm. Fishbourn the widow Howell persecutes me to write to him about money owing from him to her. I promised to hint it to thee. She writes herself. More by Capt. Puckle. I wish thee truly well. I am

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

P. S.—If Governor Hamilton be not there, let the council have his letter, and then send it to him, (unless at Burlington.) I have sent my negative to the charter by way of New York, per Lord Cornbury's ship, the Jersey. Capt. Stapleton has it, directed to the Post-master Sharples. One to thee, by Barbadoes; another per New England; this by Guy. Vale.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

The next letter, dated in the same month, contains accounts of severe losses in trade, which the merchants of Philadelphia experienced about this time. He further says:—"We hear by a letter ('t is said) from Adolph Phillips, in London, that Col. Hamilton is approved for a year by the queen, a confirmation of which would be extremely agreeable to all the Friends here; but the same vessel, taken into St. Maloe's laden with logwood and tobacco, which two commodities together no other port in the English America sends. I doubt but this. . . . .

"If so, notwithstanding thy tenderness about insurance, I hope there is some made, having had such frequent advice, &c. . . . .

"This loss, if certain, is one addition more to the many this place has sustained this last year, in which they have suffered as much as in all the last war, there being seven vessels lost in and about the W. Indies, (of which but one by the French,) besides those bound to England. . . . . There is so great

an uncertainty of markets everywhere that we know not how to move or stand. Last fall trade to the W. Indies was dead among us; yet by reason of the queen's ships and forces coming thither in the winter, what was sent answered well. 4½ tons of beer I bought at £10 per ton, sold there for 24 per ton, and tobacco @ 35 per cwt., though but the refuse of that shipped for London—but of that there is a penny sterling per ℔ paid the queen here for duties."

The rest of the letter is taken up in sorrow for the loss of the Industry, which was part owned by Wm. Penn, and much of her freight upon his account. "She was a new vessel, carefully fitted for her voyage, and sent round to New York to go under convoy of the Advice frigate, the captain of which, under pretence of orders from the Prince, left them, excusing himself as civilly as he could, and particularly to us in a letter; for I was acquainted with him when he accompanied Lord Cornbury hither; but I think his neglecting to protect them should be resented, &c.

"That lump of scandal, G. K., has left us for Virginia."

1702.

James Logan to William Penn.

[*Extract.*] Pennsbury, [*no date.*]

Though there were forty acres cleared at Pennsbury at thy going off, there was but little fit for immediate service. John Sotcher has now cleared, I suppose, forty acres since, and is resolved to make it pay for itself, though he has not hitherto been able to do it.—They misinform who say the place goes to ruin. John and Mary are as good servants as any in America, but will not stay upon it unless thou designs over quickly. She has two little children,—are healthy and not troublesome. The garden, it is true, is not cultivated; nor is there any reason it should in your absence. All or most of the parterres are dead by blasting.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *2d 3d mo.*, 1702.

Thine of the 4th of the 11th mo., and 3d of the 12th mo., I received per Capt. Guy, 18th ult., bringing the first happy news of your safe arrival, though the night before, and no sooner, we had an uncertain report of it from Virginia — news that came highly acceptable to all the honest here, by the fear that through a jealousy of the vessel being crank, and weak by her beating when on ground in the bay, together with the danger of the coast and season, had been raised to a great height in us all, your preservation over which has been duly acknowledged by the sober and well-minded everywhere amongst us.

A few days after, I also received a copy of the 1st, by the way, as I judge, of Barbadoes, enclosing thy negative to the great charter, under thy seal, but not signed; and within a few minutes after, another, by way of Boston, enclosed to Dan'l Zachary, the contents of which shall be duly observed.

Since the date of those, I hope mine by way of New York, per Capt. Darkin, has come to hand, enclosing several copies of charters, &c., a copy of which, and another of the great charter, accompany this.

It has exceedingly troubled me that no more opportunities since that presented that could be used. The ship, we heard, staid at New York good part of the winter; but the distractions of that unhappy place grew so high before she sailed, by reason of some petitions and addresses that were sent, or intended, by her, (for which Col. Bayard has since received the sentence of death for high treason,[1] and Ph. French and T. Wenham outlawed

[1] [Col. Nicholas Bayard was reprieved, and the sentence against him was reversed. An Act was subsequently passed, at the instance of Lord Cornbury, reversing the judgment against him, and all the proceedings thereon, for, as it was styled by Attorney-general Northey, "*pretended high treason*," which treason consisted of nothing more, according to the representation of Lord Cornbury, than "signing, and procuring others to sign, an address to her Majesty, another to the Parliament of England, and another to myself (Lord Cornbury) on my arrival." The abettor of these tyrannical proceedings was Atwood, then chief-

upon their flight, who were accompanied with scores of others, that upon a proclamation of indemnity mostly returned, amongst whom their parson Vesey, who is since, they say, suspended,) that there was no sending packets that way, the vessel being so narrowly searched, especially from this government, where Governor Hamilton had also rendered himself obnoxious to their indignation for only acting the part of a friendly and generous neighbor, by sending Governor Nanfan, who drove furiously in this matter, a letter of advice not by too great rigor and precipitancy in a tender point to bring at least his reputation under the greatest hazard. This was highly resented by the said governor, who returned a scurrilous answer, much unworthy of a gentleman in every respect.

The account of accusation, &c., I shall leave to other hands, who doubtless will largely supply it, being none of my business, and mentioned here chiefly as one great cause of no more coming from me that way. . . The affidavits thou desires is the only thing that renders what has been said unhappy.

I have observed orders with respect to the appraisers of Lumby's goods, who were Charles Read, John Budd, senior and junior — the first and last particularly; these two, especially the first, whom I take with the most here to be a truly honest man, expressed a very high resentment at the admiralty officers' unfair proceedings in endeavoring to procure so low an appraisement, by alleging it would prove a favor to the owners of the goods, who 'twas probable, they said, would have them again at the price they should set on them. This was strongly urged, they say; and when not so much observed by the appraisers as desired, Col. Quary, both declare, expressed much uneasiness

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justice of the province of New York, a most unworthy person, and who pronounced Samuel Bayard, son of the accused, an accessory to the alleged high treason, and bound him over accordingly, because he advised his father not to own himself guilty.

Philip French and Thomas Wenham both returned to New York and filled important offices.—*Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y. See Index.*

For some account of French and the Rev. William Vesey, see biographical notes by Doct. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating*, &c., vol. iv. 396, 534.—EDITOR.]

and great dissatisfaction. This earnestness, with the want of the invoices from England, occasioned the appraisement in most cases to be so low; yet Charles declared, through a suspicion all things might not prove so fair as pretended, and believing they should be attested, he endeavored to bring it, though much against the grain, as near as he could, to the best of his judgment, if ready money had been then offered, but acknowledges they were abused, particularly resenting their disposing of all or good part of their own and the king's thirds, presently after, at the best advance they could get, notwithstanding what was pretended in favor of the owners. This, he says, he would willingly have had an opportunity of declaring to thee before Col. Quary, but now thinks it not proper to touch with it further, unless judicially called to it; but will be ready, I suppose, at any time to declare what is here said, upon any just occasion.

What relates to the old Spaniard I shall mention nearer the close, and speak further of some others of the same kind.

To obviate those three unworthy charges made there[1] by Col. Quary, mentioned in thine to the governor, I have taken all proper courses that occurred.

The first, I believe, is effectually done by a certificate indorsed about the word "*swearing*," of which I have two duplicates, also signed by some of the chief of such as were of note at that election, and sticklers on the other side.

Were I to seek such as voted without thought, and only by others' example, I might get many more hands to it; but I have endeavored for none but those whose testimony in the case Col. Quary cannot, I believe, have the face to object against it, being all engaged on his party's side that day, and men generally of integrity and known reputation in his own friends' opinion; however, I shall get more hands, I believe, to one or both the others.

The same certificate will also obviate the other charge of thy influencing the election. It might have been fuller, I confess; but to answer the first was the design of it; and what is there mentioned that way is in a manner accidental, being drawn by

[1] In England.—L.

some of the subscribers, who, through an abhorrence of the injustice and unworthiness of the charges, were willing to undertake to clear thee.

In answer to the third, about turning out the magistrates, comes an affidavit from those four friends who were concerned; the other two were Jno. Jones, not yet returned from Barbadoes, and Jno. Bevan, who, being a resident in Chester county, viz. Radnor township, was put in by a mistake, therefore declined acting at that time, as well as ever since, though till thy departure in the Commission. Were John Moll alive he could do justice on that point; but honest Andrew Bankson is in a manner superannuated.

The same certificate will also obviate the other charge about the influencing of elections, &c.

In matters of government, things have generally, through the governor's care, gone quietly on, though some difficulties were endeavored to be raised by those who have always shown their inclination that way, especially about administering the oath, appointed by Act of Parliament, to the governor, for the particulars of which I crave leave to refer to the governor himself, and the two days' minutes of council that come inclosed, with a copy of the dedimus and Judge Atwood's opinion, scarce necessary there, I suppose, because all the Inns and Templars would, I believe, fully concur in the same.

I could not foresee any occasion of sending any papers about this till those three of the council named in the dedimus that are here exciting their ill-nature, upon the oath being administered without them, let fall some expressions, by which I understand, that composition of vinegar and wormwood, J. Moor, had infused himself into his pen and transmitted something home, as they call it, the very name of which, because the bishop lives there, they think should fright us.

We are really unhappily engaged here by lying exposed to such malicious spies, whose sedulity to serve a dishonest cause keeps their thoughts constantly on the tenters, and dresses up each trivial passage in their secret cabals into a monstrous shape of malfeasance, the real subject of which is so slight where acted, that the persons concerned in it scarce ever think of it more till

they hear it roar from some mighty court or committee there, and made an argument for invading others' rights, though in itself scarce worthy of one thought of a man of business. While we find by experience what they do, in other cases what they do I know not.

The same diligence may show itself in a passage so foolish and trivial that the governor, I suppose, has not thought it worth his while to notice; nor should I, could we ever be secure from their secret attacks and wounds, given without the least notice. It is this:

About four months ago a foolish fellow, coming to town from Jersey, dropped some expressions as if he had hid a great sum of money near the Capes, got the old way upon the seas, which gained him credit enough amongst some to furnish himself with a few pieces of 8 for his pocket, which, notwithstanding his hidden treasure lie here, he seemed to want. Some hearing of this, informed J. Moore of it, who hinted it to me in the street, where he accidentally saw me, but would not be plain in it. In the afternoon, however, he showed me a deposition or information, and told me he had issued out his warrant, and that John Joyce was in quest of him. I wished him success, desiring him to take more assistance of the government if he needed it, and we would join him; but he was not then for it. About nine at night, the governor being out of town, he sent me word the man could not be found, but desired the government would take notice of it, and cause a search accordingly with all the constables in town. I searched all suspicious places till two in the morning, and at length heard of a certainty that, fearing the effects of his free discourse, he had passed over to Gloucester. Thither we sent a boat in the morning, but he was gone, and so our pursuit with the extent of our authority, that being another government, but gave notice of it in our own. Two days after he was taken up near Chester, whither he had again crossed the river, and brought up by the sheriff of that place to town the same afternoon. The governor coming to town examined and committed him, though there was little reason to believe by his examination but that his crime was the intemperance of his tongue and cheating his friends of a little pocket-money. The

governor, as I said, found no cause to suspect him of piracy, though enough of a vagrant or rogue, and therefore left him to the more particular examination of Judge Guest, who trying him again wrote his mittimus as for a loose, idle person only. At the last court of quarter sessions, the prisoner being called, the attorney-general craved his mittimus might be read, which accordingly was done, and must confess it proved no master-piece, though something like an original, in which the suspicion of piracy was no ways taken notice of, and his crime rendered slight by the civil magistrate, when by the last Act against pirates it was cognizable only by some of the commissioners (of admiralty). It was laid hold on by J. Moore, and resented high in court to a degree of indecency. Nothing appearing against the fellow on that head, it was thought best by some to clear him by proclamation; and for what could be objected against him on account of piracy he might be committed *de novo* by proper persons who have cognizance of that crime; but I being in court opposed his being cleared of anything, so that he was remanded to prison, where he now lies. This relation is not worth while if there be nothing said of it; but fearing the old private method, it is best to guard against it. I must take notice if anything material can now be brought against him: 'tis from the injustice since his commitment, for before, I must confess, the grounds of our suspicions appeared so foolish that I was ashamed of the pains I had taken, were it not that I thought it safer, because of the cries that have been made against us, to err rather on the overdoing hand than under; and this tenderness of ours now keeps the poor fellow a prisoner. Whether guilty of anything, or not guilty, none here knows, nor is like to know, for he can have no trial. . . . .

It is generally believed here that upon the vote of the house, that the state of the plantations should be laid before them, the charter governments will be handled among the rest, and that the war will oblige the parliament to carry on that act of annexing them to the Crown for their better security and defence; nor can I find any, even of our friends, desirous that it should be otherwise, provided thou canst make good terms for thyself and them; for they seem both weary and careless of government.

Governor Hamilton has stood inoffensively to all, but is sensible of his weakness for want of approbation, thy silence in which makes him exceeding uneasy as well as incapable of exerting those powers that are sometimes absolutely necessary for keeping government above contempt; he therefore by me earnestly entreats thee to move in that, and either procure an approbation or know the contrary. 'Tis objected, we hear, by the lords of trade, or some of them, that he has headed a party in the Jerseys,[1] and is therefore unfit for their government; but, should that act go on, or the contrary, he has not done so here, but stands blameless on all hands, and therefore may deserve the post without objection, unless his country be made one, which we are informed is like to be put to a push this critical juncture in parliament; and perhaps his name being given among the list of governors may be one further occasion of having it determined on what foot the nation stands.

However it prove, it will shortly be found necessary, both in the opinion of the government there and many here, that some defence of this place should be provided. The governor, upon publishing his commission, put the people in expectation of a militia, which he always intended, but held his hand till he might hear of his approbation, if to be obtained, which therefore the more disturbed him. In the Monthly Mercury for January there is, under the head of France, a passage which, if true, may prove of the highest ill-consequence to us, viz., that the governor of Canada has made a peace with the Iroquois, which will oblige the greater care in what has been said. Albany, by it, seems ruined; and we shall be greatly exposed when that barrier of the Five Nations is removed.

The only way to procure peace to the English colonies here from the attempts of the intriguing enemy, seems to be a strong attack at sea; for if we lose the Iroquois, we are gone by land. But it is to be feared England will rather leave us to tug for ourselves, that we may be inured to war; for there are no succors to be expected to a colony, especially a step-child as

[1] Governor Hamilton was at the same time Governor of the Jerseys and of Pennsylvania.—L.

we are, from her principles, while one effort more lies in her power. Should we be attacked, who are quite destitute of Indians, we are in the worst condition; for all Cæsar's army could not cope with a few of them without the assistance of some of their own nation and mode of warfare. Perhaps I may be thought to meddle too far; but I am sure it is worth thine and perhaps all the kingdom's consideration.

The sale of thy land, upon the first insult that way, would be at an end, especially where we have it to sell, viz., in the remoter places. Yet I hope over all, this is not true, considering Governor Nanfan's treaty last summer; but if his skill was no greater then, than by his conduct has appeared since, there was little to be depended on from him, and the vigilance of that colony, Canada, I mean, is always to be suspected. The last-mentioned governor, when Lord Cornbury's flag came in sight, with the council and assembly then setting, passed several wicked Acts, as one particularly says, and among the rest one to enlarge the number of representatives in such places as the Dutch most abounded, and were sure to carry it, with a restriction upon all succeeding governors not to add any further. We cannot yet know how things are like to go there; but if we may conjecture, that lord must be without resentment, or he will remember the indignity put upon him by huddling up business of that moment, and so nearly affecting him, in sight of his flag; and from thence, perhaps, the present may be judged. They also passed an Act granting £200 more a year to their lieutenant-governor, and £70 more to the judge for two or three years; and in case they were suspended, that double the sum should be forthwith paid out of their treasury;—another Act for outlawing P. French and T. Wenham, three days after the latter had surrendered himself. This kind of management in that frontier colony looks ill. God divert what seems too near impending.

The lower counties are quiet, and have been so,—only Newcastle have baulked their courts, but I believe will no more, there being now a set of magistrates that I hope will do business. Captain Finney went the circuit, as judge, in Caleb Pusey's place.

There comes now a full copy of all the laws in force, under the

great seal, by order of the council. Joseph Pidgeon has procured two copies, under the seal, of that law for intestates' estates, to help forward the approbation, without which his children will be cut off from great part of their grandfather's estate, which would by that law fall to their share.

As if there were some spell upon it, nothing [was] done in the old Spaniard's business after thy departure. He would never be brought to a hearing, though the governor endeavored and proposed all he could to do him justice. If any can be found who can recollect anything of it, it shall come by next opportunity.

There is scarce anything in the government I have been more troubled about, or that I have been able to do less in. Every one seems to have an aversion in their thoughts against being concerned in it, and cannot imagine that C. Saunders' proving a knave, if it really were so, can affect thee because he lived under thy government. Were thou to be charged with all the villanies committed in it, by some that hold their heads higher, it would be extremely hard. The government was never in the least concerned in it, and there can be no reason that thou should engage for C. Saunders' reputation. If Isaac Norris be attacked, he only desires the proof may be left to his accounts, which he will attest to.

My deposition I have not sent at large, as ordered, and Thomas Farmer's under it. There comes also another of his about Keeble, a villanous business. The story is thus:

I. Keeble coming to Philadelphia and complaining of being prosecuted, some of the vestry laid hold on it, and desired him to give a true state of the case under his hand, for it might be of service in England. Accordingly he gave in a paper at Dr. Hall's; but that not pleasing them, they desired he would alter it. He told them that was the truth of what he had to say, that he had not time then to stay, but that he would sign a blank and they might fill it up as they thought most proper, and so departed. At his return he applied himself to the minister Evans to know what was done in it, who gave him a copy of what he told him they had wrote about his name, all in the minister's own hand, but considerably different from what he had given in, at which, he says, he could not help expressing

some resentment, having made him say in some places what was absolutely false, as particularly that there was two couple and two free servants, when there was but one couple married in all. I had been discoursing with him before, and he promised me a copy of the paper sent, and for which John Jones gave me the enclosed, wrote in the said Jones's hand; but upon a full confession of the business, I found that was neither an exact copy of what he gave in, nor yet of that which the minister sent to the bishop, copies of both which he produced, all wrote in Evans's hand, as both Jones and he affirmed. They would not part with them then, but promised me copies exactly done, which I have not yet got. Keeble going suddenly out of town upon it, and I within two days went to Bucks to the court there, and T. Farmer, who was present, to New York, which consumed the delay of the affidavit, and him to be unable to be so exact in the relation as might be wished. Keeble offered then to give all this upon oath, but I could not get it administered; for he suspected nothing, I believe, of my sending this information.

The copy enclosed is in J. Jones's hand; and as he thought fit to mend it, the black-lead lines show where it differs from that sent home, which I also in dark-lead lines marked on the back of it, and from thence have drawn an exact copy of what they say was sent to the bishop. J. Jones faithfully promised me copies of them all under his hand, but failed. He manages Keeble's business, and a few days ago was married to J. Moll's widow. I send also a copy of S. Peres's account. . . . .

Philip James is lately deceased, as also Major Donaldson,[1] who became very well inclined in his last weakness, and recommended peace to his consorts.

There comes with the rest I enclosed, a list of the freemen of Chester county, procured with much trouble, and distinguished as desired. I am now almost in despair of getting any for Philadelphia county, things there being always the most retrograde.

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[1] He lived in the lower counties, and had been in opposition to the Proprietor's government.—L.

In the end of the winter, a Welsh young man, a few miles out of town, killed his first cousin, by throwing a small stick, frozen hard with a knot of ice at the end of it, at his head, which struck him on the temple. He was not tried at the provincial court, his counsel objecting against the jury.

The corporation of Philadelphia go on in earnest. They have their meetings and seal, make freemen and publish orders in due form; but the county justices and city magistrates had like to have clashed last court about the aldermen's sitting, which seems no way regular, but they got over it for that time. Judge Guest is much borne down on all hands, and is about leaving us.

I have been particular to too great a prolixity, but hope 'tis very excusable. I shall therefore now beg leave, with my best wishes for the prosperity of the family, to conclude.

Thy most faithful and dutiful JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, *7th of 3d*, 1702.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — My first, begun the 2d instant, I designed should convey all I had to say; but since, I find, it may prove more convenient to write of thy property, &c., distinct from the other, in that I have been several times too prolix, and therefore here shall be shorter. The council first sat every 2d and 4th day, which being in the height of winter, and people crowding to get business done, it took up so much of my time, that little else could be followed; since that we have altered the days, and now I allow only two days in the week to all business of that kind, and therefore have more time to ply others. Besides making returns, which now make the chief of my care, the success of thy affair depends mostly on our execu-

[1] [Portions only of this letter are copied by Mrs. Logan, which she entitles, "*Some account of the state of affairs in the Province, and of various transactions in Philadelphia, extracted from James Logan's Copy-Book of Letters, &c.*" Having had access to the original, we are enabled, with some unimportant omissions, to present the letter entire. — EDITOR.]

tion of that commission, overplus lands proving in many places better than expected, though in Philadelphia county very bare. We have sold almost all that part of Rocklands[1] that fell without N. E. line, at £25 or £30 per hundred. The line near the river comes to Chichester town, but is not approved of by Newcastle County, because the circle, they say, is swept too far round them. We have agreed for and sold to the value of near £1500, at rates which the county much complained of, though if lands should advance as they have done, of which I almost despair, perhaps thou may do the same of, as in time to come; but I am sure we do not deserve it, for in many places we have raised the price of lands among the people from one to another. Very much depends upon resurveys, which go briskly enough on in such places where we can expect to get anything. We are well provided with surveyors in Bucks and Chester, but in Philadelphia we are most at a loss, for a reason I shall give elsewhere. Edward Penington's decease, of the small-pox, of which I suppose thou hast heard by Is. Norris, cast us much back. The disposal of that office thou wilt see at large by a copy of our minutes on that head which accompanies this, with others of the same book. Because of Isaac Norris's letter I say no more. Jac. Taylor, the young man there mentioned, who has wrote a pretty almanac for this year, one of which comes enclosed, has also had the same distemper, now greatly reigning amongst us, but is very well recovered, which has been a second hindrance. S. Carpenter has lost his son Abraham by it; and but a few houses in town are or have been clear, though now 'tis grown very favorable. Isaac Norris's wife[2] and family are now down in it, and Samuel

[1] The manor of Rocklands extended from the Brandywine to Naaman's creek, and consequently contained all those immensely valuable mill-seats on this side of the Brandywine. — L.

[2] My grandfather, according to a traditional account in his family, came into this country in the year 1690. He was born in the Isle of Wight, Great Britain, and removed with his parents when young to Jamaica, where being dissatisfied, he came into Pennsylvania to look for a settlement for the family; but on his return to that island in 1692, he found they had perished in the great earthquake. Collecting the small remains of his property, he returned and settled in Philadelphia, where he married one of the daughters of Thos. Lloyd. An excellent understanding, great prudence and moderation, with a sweetness of

Preston narrowly escaped being the sorest visited, who has recovered. That pillar of Bucks county, Phineas Pemberton, worn away with his long-afflicting distemper, was removed about the 5th of 1st month last. Hearing he was past hopes, I went to visit him the day before he departed. He was sensible and comfortable to the last, and inquiring solicitously about thy affairs and the parliament; gave his last offering, his dear love, to thee and thine, and particularly recommended the care of his estate to me in thy behalf, desiring that his services in collecting the rents with Samuel Jennings might be considered in his own, otherwise he should be wronged; and that his attendance at Newcastle assembly, when his plantation and business so much suffered by it, might, according to thy promise, be paid, with his overplus in Warminster, which he said was but little, and not valuable. I was with him when he departed, and coming to Philadelphia that day, returned to his burial. He lies interred in his plantation on the river, with the rest of his relations. His daughter, they say, is to be married to Jeremiah Langhorne. As for returns, there cannot more be done by man than I to my utmost endeavors, and that under the greatest hardships. There is no way of getting money in, but what I have industriously tried as far as lies in my power, rents in the province only excepted, which are not yet so forward; but I am now putting them on everywhere, and hope I shall raise something considerable that way; but the scarcity of money lays us all under the greatest difficulties. The quantity was lessening all the time thou wast here, but since the decay appears so very great that we know not to what reason to ascribe it, but gives many occasion to believe and say thou hast carried great sums out with thee, of the contrary of which I am but too good an evidence. The tax I cannot get, pushed on by all the means I could use, and I really fear we shall lose great part of it, not-

temper and courtesy of manners, rendered him universally acceptable. Though in extensive business for that time as a merchant, yet he was exceedingly serviceable in the government, his time and talents being often employed for the public good. He retired from trade to his seat, Fairhill, where he lived in much comfort and hospitality. He was born 1671; died June 4th, 1735, when he was chief-justice of Pennsylvania, universally regretted.—L.

withstanding we may suffer by the sound. Jos. Carpenter stands chiefly in the way, who threatens high to prosecute, though with the expense of one thousand pounds, any who shall distrain. This makes the collector, who is W. Tonge the under-sheriff, very timorous and backward. About five days ago I had at length roused him to a pitch that he was resolved to try; but thy desiring us to keep all things quiet made me inclinable that he should hold his hand then, till they could not have time to dress up anything to send by this opportunity; but before one week is over, I am resolved it shall be tried, whatever the consequences may prove; for nothing can be more unreasonable than that we should have the name, and bear the blame too, perhaps, among some, and yet have nothing for it. The country, everywhere willing, cannot pay for want of money; and for the same reason the subscriptions are very much behind, not for want of good will, but for want of some way to bring it into my hands, for all our trade is now by discount and transfer of debts. It will all be paid, I suppose; but several little debts standing out take off some part of it,—such as £20 to Joseph Kirkbride for a servant, and £100 by a bill on me to that meeting, and many such. I have not received a farthing above £180 of Richard Stockton . . . He would give any security could he have it upon interest; but it is nowhere to be had amongst us that either he or I can hear of. He offers interest to us, which, to be sure, his bond will bring; but that does not answer. I must take the greatest part of the province rents in wheat, I believe; but that will scarce do, I fear, for I would fain make returns some other way. Of all the bonds I took in Newcastle county, I have received but 200 bushels of wheat, or thereabouts: this I sent a shallop on purpose, having first given them notice by a good hand, sent down some weeks before, who was very pressing with them, and appointed a day for the vessel to call. I have received and discounted £60 or £70 more other ways, but only £12 in money. Of all the land sold we have not yet received £150. The country must have time, or they cannot buy at all; and though their bonds be given, when the time comes there is scarce any money. I have considerable due the 25th 1st mo. last, yet scarcely anything paid.

It would keep a man and horse employed only to go a dunning. This so melancholy that I am afraid to proceed, yet must and will tell thee, that of the bills remitted home last year from Samuel Chew, &c., there was £150 left due when thou went away home—£100 to Thomas Masters, to I. Coutts for flour: had these, and the rest to others, which I have paid. Those unhappy, expensive mills have cost since, at least £200 in our money, besides several other accounts upon them. They both go these ten days past. The town mill[1] (though before £150 had been thrown away upon her through miller's weakness and C. Empson's contrivance) (?) does exceeding well, and of a small one is equal to any of this province. I turned out that old fool as soon as thou wast gone, and put her into good and expeditious hands, who at the opening of the frost would set her a-going, had not the want of stones delayed; and the dam afterwards breaking with a freshet prevented. A job that I was asked £100 by the miller, who lately came from England (Warwick's Real), to repair, but got it done for £10. The walls, in the frost, were all ready to tumble down, which we were forced to underpin five feet deeper, the most troublesome piece of work we had about her. There was nothing done in all this, nor is there anything of moment, without Edward Shippen's and G. Owens' advice, where his is proper. Besides the £50 paid Capt. Tregearny, I have paid H. Badcock near £50, and the butcher near £60 on the old account, and the baker £81, all due at thy departure, with several other bills that became very thick on me, which entirely drained me of all I could receive in the winter by any means whatsoever, and left me quite empty-handed when the spring came to make returns. Howsoever, I have pushed forward that way to my utmost, and, notwithstanding what has been said, have done as near as much as if under none of these hardships. . . . . We have made our agreement for land, I believe of great consequence, but whether good or ill I know not. I have from the first been exceedingly uneasy about it, and would have drove it off, but could not.

[1] [The town mill, at this time known as the *Governor's Mill*, was afterwards known as the *Globe Mill*, and stood on the west side of Germantown Road, between Canal Street and Girard Avenue.—EDITOR.]

'Tis that of the Octoraro settlement of 18,000 acres, a copy of the minutes of which comes enclosed, to which I refer thee. Land, 'tis certain, lies in dispute, and within the bounds of Talbot's grant, as we are since informed. C. Empson was the chief, and very eager for it. I thought at first, by his proposals, it was much more north than it proved, and would be a great encouragement for the settlement of Susquehanna, as doubtless it will. However, having among themselves contrived their expedition, they were resolved on it, and would have gone to Maryland. Some threatened (but not Cornelius) others that they would find other measures; and Thomas Fairman, 'tis certain, was resolved on it all last winter, for that company, and had spoke to chainmen to go with him to survey it, which had he done, I could not have been sorry, if it proves so contestable, only that by that means so noble a settlement would have been defeated, which ought really to be encouraged. They all design to settle it forthwith, under certain regulations, which if they do, the 3000 reserved for thee, which with much trouble I obtained, will be more valuable than the whole was before. I advised with Samuel Carpenter and the best of others, who all, as well as the commoner, concurred that it should be granted. The land, I perceive, is a rich commodious tract, about eight or ten miles from the navigable part of Northeast River.

From Samuel Carpenter's hand I received a letter, directed to thee, enclosed to him from Anthony Sharp, which he assured me was of business, and therefore persuaded me to open it. In the course of it I found one particular pleasing to us both, viz., his advising with thee about the purchase of all Talbot's manor, which he said was offered to him. If, instead of him, thou canst purchase it for anything under £2000, if it contain what they say it does, viz., 6000 or 8000 acres, I do engage, if we have peace, to raise the money off one half of it, and much less in less than three years. That had disposed of I know is the best; but the settling of that will do the same by the rest, and there wanted encouragement to carry a cart-road above 40 miles through the woods, which they have engaged to do forthwith; upon their entry, they were eager to begin this spring, but desiring to have a clear title, were resolved to go into Maryland

and purchase Talbot's place from his agent there, if to be done; but, hearing of it, diverted the design, assuring them it lay in thy power, more than any other's, to accommodate that point. I believe really 'tis below 40°, and with that could be settled, only the government should thou purchase it, will not follow the soil, and that will lessen the value. This I believe will retard the settlement this year. Susquehanna business goes but slowly on for want of time for the undertakers to follow, viz., S. Carpenter to follow it, as they say Samuel is a true friend, but overburdened with his own business; and 'tis entirely out of my way to manage it, being able only to press him on: however, I have hopes there will be above £5000 subscribed; but the pay we must leave to the state of the times, which will influence it. I hope, then, thou wilt come to a full resolution there what is to be done in the company's business who purchased the 6000 acres. Thou art under an obligation by thy deeds, which must either be complied with or some other way discharged. I have read over copies of the deeds here, and find it in . . . . . power to do a world of mischief, and seen bitter angry letters to him (subscribed by those from whom thou wouldst not expect it, perhaps) to do his duty. He halts between two; and am sure he is not faithful to them, though honest to thee, in it; but how he will answer if they prove rigid I know not. His son lives with me in J. Sander's place. He is not so good a hand, but seems really honest. For the sake of the bill I supplied J. Sanders with £15 when I could very ill spare, for which he drew £10 on his mother, which she will not, I suppose, scruple to pay as the fatted calf at the return of her prodigal. He left me soon after thy departure, because his wages would have run higher than I could afford. I paid him to the last penny, and mostly on my own account, though he could scarce believe it. He has behaved himself very well ever since, having spent his time in learning navigation; and now is the bearer of this, or a copy. He desired to be mentioned; and I do him but justice. Jos. Growdon has had his land resurveyed, together with all Bensalem township, of which I send also a minute. Please to consider whether he shall have the manor as desired, without thy orders. I am sure I

shall not agree, though he procured a resurvey on the whole township in expectation of it. . . . . D. Lloyd carries smooth, but is the same at heart. He aimed a home blow at the charter, which would have satiated him with revenge if it can be done; for it appears to me to be levelled for thy ruin. Yet some courts of that kind, not interfering with the king, and rather enlarging than abridging thy powers, are much to be desired; for without them thou canst never be safe or honorable; and therefore hope those, with such privileges as the Jerseys upon their surrender crave, will be thy endeavor, which being once obtained thou wilt be happier, in my judgment, without than with the government. If the Act pass, and king's governor must come before thee, let me put thee in mind to recommend me in behalf of thy interest warmly to him, for it will prove a great advantage to thy affairs here. But if any, I hope he will be such as will be in a great measure directed by thee. We shall be exceeding glad to see Master William here; and, for my part, never be wanting in anything that may tend to thy or his interest and honor. But I hope he will come as little as possible forearmed with prejudice against any; and then I shall to my utmost endeavor to give the most impartial information. I wish thou hadst been pleased to mention whether his family comes or not, and whether for a stay. If thou ever see cause to send over any new commission of any kind from thence, pray suffer me to desire that they may be authentic; for such as have been formerly will not go down now, especially relating to property. I have sent over copies of the chief, viz., of ours[1] of the council; and I think that of the governor's will be ready. They were all done in haste. Thou may remember that ours of the property is not much amiss, I suppose. I have thought often to draw a draft of one to erect us into a proprietary, that by a jury sometimes we may be capable of determining some differences about lands, which now we cannot, and are much perplexed. Pray be not prevailed on to make easy grants there on applications made from hence; for we endeavor to steer by justice without partiality, and have here the opportunities of

[1] Commissioners of property.—L.

knowing the arguments on both sides, only in some cases where 'tis left in thy breast; and then we shall send over our minutes as now, to which we pray this answer. That insatiate office-monger, Capt. Finney, will perhaps solicit thee for the surveyor-general's place, as he did us immediately upon Edward Penington's death; but 'tis only to farm it out for his profit, which I take to be an abuse in any government, and has always been avoided in this since thy last arrival. 'Tis ordered now in my opinion to best to accommodate this juncture; and perhaps there may be no reason found to alter it. I neither got, nor pretend to one farthing by it. Solomon Warder comes just now on me for £200 to pay for the plantation bought for his father, which reduces me to the greatest extremity on so short a warning. My charge and care at this time is almost insupportable; but I am resolved to keep myself in debt, that I may always be under the greater necessity of getting in money. Pray take not amiss what I said before of a partner in our commission concerned in the seal. 'Tis not that I am really uneasy or begrudge it, but only state the difference while I am all on my own charge as well as he. We are all very good friends in public business, without the least rub, though not quite so otherwise. We have heard nothing of Edward Singleton's arrival in Barbadoes. I consign to him, or, in absence, to Jno. Grove, to whom otherways I would not, being so sharp in merchants' business that he charged commission for paying money to himself. I hope E. S. will be more moderate in respect to thee; but such is the rigor of merchants, justified by practice. There is but one pair of stones upon the mill, and it will be convenient to have another, which should be Cullen's or Black's stones, for the name of them gives great credit to a mill, and therefore brings grist. If an opportunity offer, it would do well, I believe, to ship a small pair from thence; the freight will be cheap, and the price about £15. I suppose we can get none here under £50 or £60; I offered £40 for a pair better worth it than any other in the country worth £20, the price of those we have, being English or Welsh. I am forced to keep this house still, there being no accommodation to be had elsewhere for public business, and live as easy as I can in the

governor's[1] absence. He seemed by thy discourse to him to depend on this place. His coming is a great charge to me, and know not how to order or understand it. I wish we knew what bottom we stand on there, that measures might be taken, the first for the office, the other for the accounts and all kinds of business. Jacob Taylor likewise tables here, (the office must pay for him,) and holds it in thy closet that was, the books, &c. being removed into the next room just above it. What letters came to hand accompany this. Thy sister's, &c., were never touched, though the outside being under the agent's cover was broken; others there were delivered by persons who, knowing they related to their business here, desired we should open them. That from Wm. Edmundson was opened by mistake,—but seeing the name, I never read four lines of it, nor has any other seen it,—the governor always desiring the agent's might be opened; but I generally did it privately first, though these are certainly public letters. The friend's from Holland I was forced to open, because it accompanied a large packet; it seems noways relating to thee; and some odd pieces of wood, which I neither then knew nor do yet know the meaning. Wm. Edmundson's was delivered about the same time that a parcel of fine sugar and chocolate was, and I was in hopes it gave an account from whence that came; but I am yet ignorant. I am ashamed to add another sheet, and therefore must conclude with due regards to all thy family. Thy most faithful and dutiful servant,

JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 11*th* 3*d mo.*, 1702.

HONORED GOVERNOR:—After two long letters, the one of the government, the other of the property, already written, I must still crave leave to add the following gleanings, some of which I purposely reserved for a private letter out of that of the government, the others by omission or fresh occasion. Of the first, by all the endeavors I could use I could not prevail on Charles

[1] [Governor Hamilton.—EDITOR.]

Read[1] to put his hand to anything about the appraisement; for it would be of ill consequence to himself, as he reckons, and stage him for a fool to send any such thing now, howsoever true.

There is no procuring any better certificate than that already sent, signed by G. Jones, &c.; for it is the fixed opinion of all the party there was something like it, and our friends' hands will do no good. I not only found a difficulty in procuring a list of the inhabitants of Philadelphia County, but if obtained, which to be sure is possible with sufficient endeavors, though very troublesome, it would do more harm than good, by creating jealousies and distrust; for Philadelphia town being above half the inhabitants, two thirds of those I believe are no Friends, which brings town and country, as I judge, near upon a balance, the greater part of the country being Friends.

We have seen an unhappy letter from hence in one of the printed newspapers published at London, mentioning William Dyer's application to thee for his marsh. He has since again applied to us, and denies several of the words there said, but cannot all, for 'tis certain too many of them are true. He has promised to give as many as he can under his hand to clear that point, and affirms that he never told it but to two or three of his particular friends, who he thought would never have used it, and believes they did not, however it came about. Be pleased to consider his marsh, without which he says he is utterly ruined, being nonsuited and cast in a large bond, which he gave to make a title. The lower counties, though they keep the peace, yet are full in expectation of a change, and upon that hope their rents will in some way be eased, or applied to forts, which makes it exceeding difficult to get any rents there; and indeed, unless some course be taken at home soon, we shall in a great measure lose the advantage to be made by them. Newcastle I hope to do pretty well with, but cannot manage the other two, that are now in the hands of the spoiled W. C., who, if I be not quite out, has ruined thee there. He is serviceable in government, but unhappy in property. I must go down 5th mo. next, but cannot before.

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[1] Chas. Read died in 1705.—L.

Thou wilt see an effect of S. Carpenter's good-will by his letter of credit or obligation. I was in hopes to have had a bill of him, or of Isaac Norris, who both showed their readiness, but could not at that time. I have really done all in my power to procure bills, but can by no means, for want of money, for the goods I purchase are chiefly by transferring debts; but S. Warder's I cannot answer to, which straitens me exceedingly, and the worse because unexpected at a juncture in which I am so much involved. E. Shippen has no money there now, I believe, otherwise I should have procured it; but he is exceeding hard. I have sent a second bill of Letitia's for one hundred pounds. If thy strait be very great, and if she please to lend that, and thou give interest upon thy bill on me for her, I will secure it to her here on better interest; only 'tis safer there in case of war.

I know not what to do with T. F.[1] Had he any truth in him he would show it to thee. I really believe his son living with me is a tie upon him; but it all looks like washing the blackamoor white. It will not come out, however, that he is really a friend in the company and business, though by those deeds, scarce honest to them. Rockland[2] is the hardest of all. Within these three days his son is taken with the small-pox, another hindrance, &c.

I am now obliged to continue in the office of secretary of the government,[3] unless I would openly abandon thy interest; for there is scarce an officer in it that regards it enough,—their own engages them. Capt. Finney is very serviceable, and a good man, would he but let canvassing for office alone, by which he exposes himself, but I think is truly hearty, and desires his best respects to thee.

John Salkeld, who next 3d day is going down to Maryland in order to embark homeward if he find an opportunity to

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[1] Thomas Fairman probably is here meant. He was a surveyor.—L.

[2] A manor so called, now almost incalculably valuable on account of the Brandywine mill-seats, &c.—L.

[3] Of the lower counties, and of the officers there, this is probably meant. Finney lived at Newcastle. There had been a proposition for a distinct secretary for the lower counties.—L.

please him, otherwise will return and stay over next winter, just now, at parting, desires his dearest love may be given to thee and thine. He is a most worthy man, and to me almost a miracle. His growth in his testimony since coming into these parts is wonderful.

The two grants thou signed to thy son John, and thy children by the same, are not yet sealed. The Trustees were S. Carpenter, Is. Norris, and E. Penington; but the latter, on whom the active part was to fall, being dead before sealing, it may be convenient to insert another, for which I crave thy direction. The registry of ships is to be delivered to the commissioners of the customs; 'tis not fit for me to write to them. Pray be pleased to take notice of Ed. Farmer's letter of the minutes. Once more concluded. Thy most dutiful ff, J. L.

The ship has gone down, and John just following.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

NEWCASTLE, *28th 3d mo.*, 1702.

HONORED GOVERNOR:—In the 2d, 7th, and 11th of this instant I have been large by Capt. Guy, of which should send copies by this, were she bound to London, but intending only for Liverpool, think it more advisable to defer them till the next opportunity, though I shall therefore, seeing nothing new has occurred since that time amongst us, repeat nothing here besides mentioning what I have already done, viz., incurring about £450 or £500 per the brigantine Hopewell, Benjamin Berman, master; burden about 70 tons, in which thou art two thirds concerned, both vessel and cargo. She sails within 10 or 14 days by the channel directly for London.

I have also now positively bought one quarter of the ship Industry, of which Dennis was master, being the vessel that was thought last year to be the French man-of-war, only, as I have said before, for the advantage of freight. She will carry about 200 hhds., of which 50 on thy account, and 5 or 10 of logwood. By the brigantine I shall be particular about her. The mournful news of the King's death, of which we first heard

last week, will, I fear, strike a great damp on business. I am almost afraid to give thee an account of the sudden extraordinary scarcity of money amongst us, lest it should be thought I would frame excuses; but by many concurring accounts I know it will be confirmed. 'Tis hoped, indeed, that the small-pox, reigning universally in Philadelphia, though wonderfully favorable, may be some cause of the dullness of trade, and therefore of that scarcity; but find now that not one in ten can pay according to engagements.

This coming by R. Janney, in company with W. M.,[1] gives me occasion to turn my pen to a subject, which as duty on one hand obliges me to hint, so prudence on the other to touch with the utmost tenderness, if upon the news brought by several letters on board Guy, that in all probability my young mistress (Letitia Penn) by this time has changed her name, though I willingly would, yet cannot forbear informing thee of what has been since too liberally discoursed of her, and among the rest, not sparingly by some that signed her certificate, viz., that she was under some particular engagement to the before-mentioned W. M., the said signers having, upon some unhappy information given them, lately expressed so great a dissatisfaction at what they had done, that it had been proposed among them to send over and contradict or retract it. I am really a stranger to what passed, resolving not to meddle through a sense of duty. What I knew I endeavored as far as was proper from me should be known; what I could fear I tried to prevent; but from the discourses of those who had better opportunities of knowing, I have too much reason to believe that before she departed she was actually under some engagements to William, from which, without great reflections or some dishonor, she cannot recede unless he resign. My reason of mentioning this is, that if she is since engaged to W. A. [William Aubrey], but all not confirmed, such caution may be used with W. M. as to get a clearance from him the best way it may be obtained; or, if all be over, lest W. M., on the disappointment, which he will bitterly resent, should be guilty of any expression that may tend to her

[1] [William Masters is referred to. A portion of this has been inadvertently repeated in note at p. 135. — EDITOR.]

disquiet, but that prudent endeavors may be used to soften him, or stop his mouth from injuring her, either in respect to her husband or the world. I am much troubled that there should be occasion of this from me, well knowing how disagreeable it must come, however things stand, and that it must expose me to unkind thoughts, at least if communicated, duty being my only inducement. There is not one syllable here designed on his [W. M.'s] account; for in affairs relating to that sex I am no way his debtor, though I wish him well, which he will scarcely believe, and therefore has been unkind to me. I mention this only to show that nothing prevails with me but the desire of her honor and welfare. Whoever can make her happiest would be most gladly congratulated by me in his success; in which, as I know 'tis not my part to meddle, so I crave leave for my boldness, and to subscribe

Thy most faithful and dutiful ff,

J. Logan.

P. S.—I came hither to take up some bonds out of Cornelius Empson's hands, with whom, I fear, I must of necessity break. In a new commission for this county he is left out. They dropt their courts entirely without adjournment; but now all things go on very regularly, though in these counties only through an expectation of having speedily a positive determination from the crown of what has been questioned; but in the meantime they are very peaceably disposed, though loth to part with their quit-rents, for the sake of which, if no other, that affair will require to be drove. J. L.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 18*th* 4*th mo.*, 1702.

This letter, Mrs. Logan remarks, is chiefly devoted to an account of mercantile transactions carried on by Logan on Penn's account.

William Trent is commended for his thorough skill and insight into trade. He was a successful merchant of Philadelphia, but afterwards settled at Trenton, which received its

name from him. None of his descendants, I believe, remain among us.[1]

Speaking of the difficulty he lay under in procuring supplies, and apologizing for the tobacco sent, part of which was not of the first quality, he says:—Such tobacco I must of necessity take; for the lower counties are now so disaffected, though quiet in government, through the certain expectation of a change, that I do not stand there on equal ground with the others. I can find no way to get in the rents below but in tobacco, and scarce in that now, being in demand since Guy's arrival, which it was not before. . . . . I have procured a parcel of bear and deers' skins; but 'tis impossible for me to procure any considerable quantities of those commodities, being bought only with Indian goods,—for money, if I had it, will not purchase them. The few stroudwaters . . . . . I reserve to treat with the Sonnequois[2] Indians, a number of whom we daily expect. 'Tis certain they have made peace with the French. . . . .

[Then follows an account of shipments for William Penn, on board of the Rebecca, and Cantico,[3] of which last he had bought a share for the proprietor, after which he continues:]—I shall send but little more to Barbadoes till better encouragement offers, for the prices are extremely low there, though it would be the easiest remittance to me of any, as bills and tobacco are the most difficult; but the first I expect very few there, there being scarce any kind of money amongst us to purchase them with, of which I wish thou wouldst inquire of others, for I am ashamed to insist on this strain. . . .

I can get nothing more of R. Stockton. He would gladly take up money anywhere on interest, but cannot; nor have received anything of Philadelphia subscriptions yet, Samuel

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[1] William Trent's first wife was the sister of Col. Coxe. She died in child-bed in the slate-roof, at the time he owned it. After her death he sold it and went abroad, but returned again to Pennsylvania, and married for his second wife one of the daughters of John Moore, so often mentioned in this work as inimical to the proprietor.—L.

[2] Senecas.—L.

[3] This, in another letter, the proprietor says he had scruples about doing. The Cantico was taken and carried into France.—L.

Carpenter[1] having desired the collecting of those, that he might signalize his services therein, and procure new ones; but, wherever the cause lies, he has done nothing yet. I only know this, he is a great projector for his own interest. I am unhappy in this, that half of those who owe money in the country endeavor to draw on him, and he never has any; so that, unless I take bread and flour, whether it will do or not, I can get nothing; but nothing can prevail with me to send any away but what I think will turn best to thy account. The rents are behind still. Of all the subscriptions of Bucks I have received but one ton and a half of flour. Chester county is the best in all kinds of public payments; and this the worst; Bucks not much better, now their pillar, Phineas Pemberton, is gone.

We continue very quiet in government, but admire we can have no account of affairs there. Packets, with orders to proclaim the queen, have arrived in Virginia, Maryland, New York and Boston, by the men-of-war, but none here, which makes many admirize, thou being there on the spot. And unhappily two days ago there came a letter by way of Barbadoes to Capt. Finney, dated the 17th of February, affirming that thou hadst lost the government, and another was coming over in thy place, which, though not believed by any of sense, considering thy letter of the 4th of the same month, yet 't is of ill consequence, especially being heightened by Governor Nicholson's[2] letter to

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[1] [Mrs. Logan remarks of this public-spirited and enterprising gentleman: "He has left numerous descendants of his own name, settled near Salem, in West Jersey. The Whartons, Merediths, and Clymers, also the Fishbourns, are his descendants in the female line,—and some others."—EDITOR.]

[2] [Col. Francis Nicholson was appointed, in 1688, Lieut. Gov. of New England and New York under Andros. Upon the arrival of the news of the imprisonment of Andros in New England, and of the declaration in favor of the Revolution, the Protestant inhabitants, finding that Nicholson would not declare for William, took possession of the fort, and proclaimed the King and Queen. Upon his submission, however, he was continued Lieut. Gov. of New York. In 1690, he became Governor of Virginia, and subsequently returned to England, hoping to be reappointed Governor of New York. Penn had occasion, in 1696, in his letter to the Commissioners, to complain of "the violence and harsh carriage of Col. Nicholson," which may explain the origin of the feeling againt the proprietor.—*III. Doc. relating to N. Y.*, 537; *and see Index.*—EDITOR.]

J. M. [John Moore], importing that thy interest is lost, which, notwithstanding, gains but little credit.

Governor Hamilton acquits himself well by an easy carriage, but dare strain nothing for want of approbation. He was lately at New York to wait on Lord Cornbury, from whom he received very great civilities, and is much in his favor. . . . .

[Next follows, observes Mrs. Logan, an account of the settlement of Octoraroe, in Talbot's manor. The writer continues:] At the time of granting it was thought very well of, and Samuel Carpenter's judgment, who I know has great foresight, was the chief inducement to me to join, who would rather have chose to stave it off, as I have always since the survey; but the people who were to enter upon it being generally much straitened for land in Chester county, where chiefly they live, are bent upon a settlement there this year. They have lately drawn lots; and six very good ones, as I am informed, of about 500 acres each, are fallen to thy share; which, when a road is cut and a settlement made, will be of much more value than all the 18,000 was before; but all my trouble is, 't is too near Maryland; and though not all, if any, within that province, yet 't is certainly all in Talbot's manor. . . . .

[*In Continuation.*] 23*d* 4*th mo.*, 1702.—Since writing the above an express arrived from Lord Cornbury to Governor Hamilton, 7th day morning last, being the 20th instant, importing he had received orders to proclaim the queen in N. York, and in the Jerseys, and accordingly designed to be at Burlington that day; but he came not till next. The governor, with several from hence, went toward Crosswicks to meet him. Upon the first discourse of those parts, and mentioning of our province, he expressed a willingness to give it a visit, and thereupon had an invitation. 2d day morning I hasted down to make provision, and in a few hours' time had a very handsome dinner, really equal, they say, to anything he had seen in America. At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, where he lodged, and dined to-day with all his company, 30 in number. He is just now gone off in the boat, very handsomely attended, expressing a great satisfaction in the place and the decency of his entertainment in all its parts. He has wrote two packets by this opportunity, which are inclosed. In them he has acknowledged the

civilities of the place, as his secretary affirms; and, I have great reason to believe, to Lord Rochester especially, if I mistake not; and in general has recommended us. The entertainment has been some charge, his retinue and company being great; but if there remains any room for a favor from the court to this province, I believe there has seldom been any [illegible] better bestowed on it, considering his near relation to the crown.[1] He designs to visit Pennsbury to-morrow in the forenoon, as he goes up from Burlington by water towards the falls, where I must meet and receive him the best we can. I have sent up wine and what could be got, and have staid behind myself to despatch away this vessel, but must go early in the morning by land.

[*In Continuation.*] 25*th* 4*th mo.*, 1702.—The vessel staying a day longer, I left this unfinished and went to receive Lord Cornbury, as I said on the other page, at Pennsbury. He was attended all the way with four boats besides his own, and about ten in the morning arrived there, with about fifty in company. With Mary's great diligence, and all our care, we got ready a handsome country entertainment, which, though much inferior to those at Philadelphia for cost, &c., yet for the decency and good order gave no less satisfaction, which he expressed at his departure to the highest degree, promising to acknowledge it particularly to thee, and to serve us all that ever lie in his power, either in England or here. He expresses a great regard for thee, and is much averse to the warmth of those who go by the name of the church here; for which reason, or some other which I cannot yet learn, none of the chief of them waited on him up the river, chiefly, I suppose, because he was pleased to be in Quaker hands. Our people, if that bill go forward, would be well satisfied to be under him; for they believe they could never have one of a more excellent temper. They look on him as their saviour at New York; nor do the Dutch there know how to blame him.

Before thy departure a packet came with news of the alteration of the ministry at home. J. Moore received a letter from Col.

[1] He was first cousin to Queen Anne.—L.

Quary, I am told, upon which he talks very big; but we know not the meaning of it. We much admire we cannot now hear from thee, nor have orders to proclaim the queen, it being done everywhere around us.

John Sotcher, I hope, is arrived ere this with a large packet, &c.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 21*st* 4*th mo.*, 1702.

Esteemed Friend, James Logan:—Of my many letters I hear of none arrived, but hope one is by way of New England; (for) last 2d mo. Daniel Zachary informed me he had on that day, 13th, despatched my packet inclosed in one to Isaac Norris; and since I find nothing said in that only one I have received from thee, after seven months and more, of what I so earnestly desired should be sent after me, (namely, the several affidavits about Charles Read's low appraisement, Perry's prize, or the prices those goods were sold at, with more to the same purpose, against or to balance Col. Quary's complaints,) I must say it is to my inexpressible trouble, and I fear my irreparable disappointment; but I will not fall into resentment by too long dwelling on this unpleasant subject and the uneasiness it must needs give me, but I must tell thee I am very unhappy. I hear by Isaac Norris that the commissioners, and consequently you, despatch the greedy people after settlements, and am glad of it, and would have that done and not the other left undone. I send Quary's information, and would have them considered by the people, and those who were upon the spot at the time and know the calumny and misstatements which are contained therein; and I would have two copies of a counter-statement to employ as I see best here, and signed by all persons, if others will join, distinguishing between our friends and other societies, it would do well. 'T is not Col. Quary, or J. Moore, or two more such, signify anything here, but as there is another end to serve, and that is what I have the laboring oar against, and for all this am not without hopes of success one way or other. But never had poor man my task — neither men nor

money to assist me. I therefore strictly charge thee that thou represent it to Friends there that I am distressed for want of supply; that I am forced to borrow money,[1] and add debt to debt instead of paying them off; besides my uncomfortable distance from my family and the unspeakable fatigue and vexation that follow my attendances, draughts of answers, conferences, counsels' opinions, hearings, &c., with the charge that follows them. Guineas melting four, five, six a week, and sometimes as many in a day. My wife hitherto is kept by her father, whence she is coming next week to Worminghurst, on my daughter's account, in likelihood to marry. I have been more sensibly touched for the honor of the country's administration than for myself, and said ten times more than I send, and after all believe Quary repents him of his wickedness, as he has been roundly handled by Lumbys, owners and freighters, and see his frivolous as well as malicious attempts against me not like to honor him or harm me as far as he intended. Governor Hamilton had the effect of it so much before I came by his, Quary's, friends, and afterwards in person, that he could not be well unworthier to any man. And I wish Lewis Morris has not been an enemy to us, Proprietary Government, or that he has been as good a friend to Governor Hamilton as he might have been once in a while.

The scene is much changed since the death of the king; the Church party advances upon the Whig, and yet I find good friends, sorely against some people's will. I have had the wisest men in England, and of the greatest, to advise with (about a bargain) that love me, and all say, stay awhile; be not hasty. Yet some incline to a good bargain, and to let Quary begone, and change him to another Province, if we can do no better.[2] Perry and the Lords of trade have talked of our being Friends. Pray mind my directions of my former letters, and

[1] [The villainy of his trusted agent, Philip Ford, had by this time become apparent, for the elder Ford had just died, and his widow had demanded possession of the Province under an alleged deed, which Penn had executed in the belief that he had signed merely a mortgage. EDITOR.]

[2] [Penn refers to a sale of his government to the Crown.—EDITOR.]

make returns with all speed, or I am undone. Separate East Jersey money from the rest.

Things look but dull in Italy and Germany. If the Confederacy fail this summer, I know not what to say to it. Be close, wise, and industrious. The Queen behaves very well, and has three great men about her[1] — Lord Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Lord Marlborough, Lieutenant-General of all the Queen's forces. I will send the prints if I can. The last is with the army.

J. Moore. — J. Moore, thou wilt see, has complained of this business of Righton's, for Col. Quary produced his letter, and I saw his hand, whatever he promised — a treacherous and ungrateful man.

Evans the Pirate. — His sister, or cousin-german, desires the overplus of his estate to pay his debts. They hear D. P.'s house and land is worth £300; they pester me often. Let me have a legal account per first opportunity; and from David Powel what lands R. Davis yet has there.

P. Parmyter.[2] — One of Quary's blackest charges against me was Parmyter being made by me Attorney-General, &c. S. Clement will appear for him, and Major Wade and Yeates are writ to about him. I owned no such story, but pressed it upon Quary to prove it, that I had commissioned him.

A. M. and David Lloyd. — Let these ungrateful men see what I suffer for them. Quary told the full story about the late King's commission, affirmed to have been under the Great Seal, whom I treated not according to their deserts. But they may meet with their match after a while that have so basely treated me — unworthy spirits!

French, Indians, &c. — Pray mind this, with the rest of their charges, and when all is well answered by you that are upon

[1] The name of the first is obliterated.—L.

[The ministry was not constituted at once. The Marquess of Normanby was made Lord Privy Seal. Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges Principal Secretaries of State. Lord Godolphin was subsequently made Lord Treasurer. Simon Harcourt Solicitor-General; and Edward Northey Attorney-General. William Blathwayt Secretary of War, etc.—EDITOR.]

[2] [Penn calls him "cousin Parmyter."—EDITOR.]

the spot, let some that come over be witnesses. You do not apprehend the gross villainy of poor Quary. I pity him [obliterated] assert lies, and so boldly deny truths as he has done; and infer from trifles, mighty matters; and from particulars, generals.

Churchill. — 'T were well thou made up some account, at least write to him how the matter stands.

Guns. — Write to Daniel Zachary, at Boston, to inform himself of the prize officer there; at what rate J. Moore charged himself for the guns I let him have from Col. Markham; if after the appraisement or sale.

Appraisements and Sales. — By all means find out the difference of the appraisements from the sales, for therein the King has been grossly abused. I send thee what the Commissioners of the Customs sent me of Col. Quary's account, delivered in at their board for a guide; but Robt. Webb told me he had accounted with Col. Quary for £900 upon forfeitures, wherefore search exactly his papers.

Bradenham, led by Basse to be ungrateful, and has owned it. Pray pay him his money, or rather deliver it up; I have sent an order for it; I mean that which was sealed up. That demure Hall writ him the basest letter of me, calling me *his holiness*, and of the great persecution the Church was in by my tyranny. First return the money; when that is done, next put down his ordinary; so base an hypocrite I abhor. Bradenham has his bond, being pardoned without conviction; my lawyers say 't is his due.

J. Moore. — Bradenham owns that Moore had about £12 of him for counsel whilst the King's advocate, and by Clark it might be found out in particular.

Balls of Powder. — Some came when the chocolate came, pray send them safely back. I intend some tea by this opportunity to the Commissioners, Governor, Saml. Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Saml. Preston, and thyself.

Periwig. — Did not a fine new wig come to thy hands for me? It cost fifty shillings sterling; made by Watson. S. V. puts it to my account.

Lewes[1] *Pirates.*—Pray fail not per first opportunity to make returns, or pay into Bewley's hands what effects are there, before witnesses, and take his receipt for the same. I have done like a friend by him.

Governor Hamilton.—The Duke of Somerset, who is very kind to him, has stood firmly for his being Governor of both the Jerseys; he had great opposition, but unhappily the West Jersians' petition for the Queen's naming of him was wrapt up in the surrender, so that it was not read, and Dockwray and Sonomans getting air of it by the next day, came with a counter one and annexed reasons, that stops the affair, upon which I moved to have him my Governor, if refused, else I to name another. But that which with me should be a reason they make an exception, viz., an estate in the Province; so that he cannot be (illegible) than with us, unless at New York.

The Attorney-General gives his opinion against Alwd. I suppose he will be sent for home, and his elaborate argument for reversing the judgment for Wake will be reversed here shortly, and Wake have his ship.

Iron Works.—Call on those people for an answer to the heads I gave them from Ambrose Crawley. Divers would engage here in it as soon as they receive an account, which, in a time of war, would serve the country. Things as to America will come under another regulation after a while.

Surveyor's Place.—Pray let there be no person put in but till my pleasure be known, for I aim at one not in America, of which be private.

Of Disposing of Lands.—I hope by the next to hear thou hast been in Maryland to get me returns, and doest thy possible by way of Barbadoes, and tobacco, and peltry, and skins at home. Bear-skins are in demand, and buck also; tobacco bears a mighty price. I had forty odd pounds from R. Egerton received—have not £5 to command, but I must borrow for the cause; and N. Puckle, Ab. Schofield, &c. will tell you how I am persecuted and oppressed with this affair. If I had half the

[1] [Lewes, the county town of Sussex, one of the three lower counties. EDITOR.]

money returned the paper the commissioners sent me mentioned, you would quickly see me if I live. In the meantime, my son comes as fast as may be, after his sister's affair is over. Pray expedite the sale of what may best help me, and set heartily to work upon that head. I know not that I can enlarge, the person waiting for this, by this opportunity; but send two letters, one to proclaim the Queen, from the Council, the other from the Lords of trade, &c.

Pennsbury. — I would be glad to hear how things are there, the family, fruit, corn, and improvements, and clearing particularly. I mourn for poor Phineas Pemberton, the ablest as well as one of the best men in the Province. My dear love to his widow and sons and daughters; my love to all friends as if I named them, and others that are respectful and moderate. Keep all quiet. Quary is going with this fleet in the same post, but I fancy his wings will be clipped in admiralty matters every day, upon the appeals from the colonies against admiralty judgments; they are set by here upon hearings before the Committee of Appeals, whereof Lord Chief-Justice Holt and [obliterated] Trevor are members; and I advise that you take the same course, for 't is the opinion of the learned in the law that no court is erected by the Act of the 7 and 8, p. 502.[1] Secondly, That if the admiralty has any jurisdiction, 't is only about the £1000 forfeiture, for governors not being qualified, which is the only thing not disposed of. Thirdly, That, by p. 505, even the admiralty must try by a jury; and this the present Attorney-General, Sir Edward Northey, told us when before upon this act as to admiralty powers, and their extent in the plantations. I shall have, I suppose, his resolutions upon some queries the Lords sent him about governors' qualifications and admiralty jurisdictions.

I bless the Lord mine were lately well, my last son thriving much, and Johnnie perpetually busy in building or play otherways, but when he eats or sleeps, as his mother informs me. I have not been with them but seventeen days these five months. No more but my love. Affectionately thy friend,

WM. PENN.

[1] So in the original.

P. S. — I am sorry my cousin Asheton gave occasion, but I believe the Attorney-General will allow it, being *infra corpus comitatus.*

Bishop of London. — The Bishop is one of the Lords *de propaganda fide*, behaved about the law of marriage temperately, and asked Col. Quary why they did not comply with the publication? He produced a dirty paper about persecuting the Church of England in the person of Leake, under the hand of Keeble. Pray remember poor Charles Jones' family in that farm.

Characters. — Let me know how things are, and how . . . . . &c. behave.

Of thy Family. — Thou hast heard of the death of thy father and marriage of thy mother with one not a Friend; an exercise. W. Ed., &c. told me so at our Yearly Meeting.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *9th 5mo.*, 1702.

[The first part of this letter is an account of mercantile transactions, in which James Logan was concerned for the Proprietor.—L.

He then continues:][1] I not only use the utmost of my own endeavors, but act with the best advice of those of skill here who wish thee well. As I have said, thy affairs in the lower counties make me stand on an equal bottom with other traders there. They all keep quiet in expectation of a change, preserving the peace for their own interest and credit more than any sense of subjection to the government.

'T is much admired that the Queen, being for sometime past proclaimed in all the neighboring colonies by orders from the crown, there are none arrived here yet; 't is imagined, by the friends of the government, that the orders have been delivered to thee, and some way omitted to be despatched, but others would render it a contrary way. 'T is a great reflection upon us, whatever the cause be.

Yesterday a council was held upon it, and ordered she should

be proclaimed to-morrow, there being a necessity of delaying it no longer, because of the war: orders for proclaiming of which thee hast advised us are arrived at Boston and New York.

The Governor intends forthwith to issue a proclamation for raising a militia, but is very uneasy in not hearing of his approbation or supersedeas, for he would on no other account, he says, have undertaken the government, and fears his endeavors that way will not be much regarded by the Church party, as they call themselves, who, though they like Colonel Hamilton, yet care the less for him as *thy* lieutenant. He takes all possible care to act inoffensively.

Seventh-day last, 4th instant, one Butterworth, who has been often here, arrived in his brigantine or ship at New Castle, from Curaçoa. He stood up above the town of New Castle, with his top-gallant sails standing, and came ashore in his boat to make report of his vessel, but the Collector suspecting her, refused to take it, unless he would come to, which at length he did. The Collector going on board, discovered the ship's boat rowing off toward the Jersey side with a chest in it, he pursued and seized it, which he found mostly filled with Holland muslin, &c.; returning, he seized the vessel and went on shore with the master, who engaged she should not stir without leave, but in the morning she was gone, the master's brother was mate, who had directions, they say, to act as aforesaid. Butterworth next day came to Philadelphia, of which the Collector advised J. Moore by an express, that arrived First-day, in the evening, between eight and nine. Upon receipt of it, he applied to me, the Governor being at Burlington; we consulted, but concluded nothing could be done that night, there being no felony in the case. Early the next morning I obtained the mayor's warrant, and sent two constables to search for and apprehend him, upon the forfeiture of £100—14 Chas. II.[1]—for breaking bulk before entry. They returning, told J. Moore and me that he had certainly gone down again in the night, which was confirmed by others. About 11 before noon we found, by an application

[1] [See 13 and 14 Chas. II. chapter xi. 3 Stat. at Large, 216.—Editor.]

to J. Moore on his behalf, he was still in town, upon which we took another warrant, signed by J. Guest, directed to the sheriff, whose first care was to go to the ferry and leave orders to secure him there if he should attempt to pass that way, as it was thought he would; but, in the meantime, about two in the afternoon, 't is said, he went off in a boat from the lower end of the town, having been concealed in a fit place, viz., the Widow Budd's,[1] from whence he had but the street to cross and step on board without much notice, and so escaped. J. Moore reckons it a great fault in the government, as perhaps may make it the subject of another complaint, which makes me be so particular here. His first complaint is, that there is no fort at New Castle to command vessels lying there; and next, that he was not apprehended, though I know nothing that could be done more, J. Moore himself confessing we could not open any door in search of him. Our eagerness after the master was through a belief that, were he secured, the vessel would not sail out of the bay. She fell at first no farther down than Bombay Hook, where she lay in defiance, being of good force, with guns, men, and store of grenades. The master also gave out that he would lose his life rather than his vessel, on such an account, being wholly innocent. He took several solemn oaths that he knew nothing of these goods being put on board; that they belonged to a passenger, a late officer in the army, as they certainly did. That he took all possible care that nothing prohibited should be put on board him, and examined the said passenger very strictly at his embarking, who declared that he had nothing in his chest but wearing apparel, and that he never told him otherwise till he was going off again from New Castle, and that then seeing the collector coming on board, he confessed it, which made him use those endeavors to send them off, telling the young fellow, at the same time, he had ruined him forever, by bringing his vessel and cargo, which was a considerable quantity of Barbadoes goods, carried round by Curacoa, into danger of being forfeited through his falsehood and covetousness. The goods in the chest were to the value of

[1] [Near Dock Street Landing. — EDITOR.]

about £100 sterling. This is the real truth as fully as can be given, the management of which yields an instance more of our unhappiness with John Moore, &c., who, when anything is to be done for the service of the Crown, think they have discharged their part, till such time as all the profits are to be divided, when they have once given the government notice, who, with a whistle, are to run all hazard, in pursuit of the game, and when found, like spaniels taught to fetch and carry, lay it at their feet to wait their further determination, with much satisfaction, could they by any means be serviceable, of which if we fail, though by impossibility, complaints are thundered home, the most, I dare affirm, they do for their salaries; for, in cases of this kind, they expect the government should do all for them, though they put not to one finger.

As soon as the master got down, 't is believed they went to sea, bound to Curaçoa, there to sell the vessel out of danger. The Collector of New Castle is S. Lowman, formerly of Lewes, whose vacancy is supplied by one Brook,[1] a young beau, otherwise well accomplished, and deserving a better society.

We at length distrained[2] on J. C. for the tax, in fear of which he had secured whatever in his house could be taken, as plate, pewter, &c., for two months before, drinking out of nothing but earthenware. The distress was his house, which was committed to George Emlyn. I would have replevied him, but could not. By David Lloyd's assistance, however, he (J.) prevailed so far with George as to turn him loose, for which he is now prosecuted. J. gave out that he was turned out by order of the government, not daring to keep him, which, instead of forwarding

[1] Henry Brook — he was son or grandson to a baronet of the same name, and had received an excellent education. He lived for some time in this obscure situation; some of his letters and small pieces of poetry are among the papers at Stenton. James Logan corresponded with him, and appears to have been his sincere friend. — L.

[2] Brother of Samuel Carpenter, but not a Friend. He built the house in Chestnut street in the rear of the mansion* of the late Chief-Justice Tilghman, and for his family sepulture the palisaded inclosure formerly in the middle of the Potters' field (now Washington Square) was made. — L.

* [Since pulled down; the site was afterwards occupied by the Arcade, now by Jayne's Buildings, north side of Chestnut street, between Sixth and Seventh streets. — Editor.]

the business, retards it; all reports of that kind, however false, being greedily received by them that would have it so; but they will be convinced to the contrary. The unhappiness is, that people will not pay without distress. Friends are willing, but not to bear all the burden themselves, whilst others obstinately save their money, and none can be prevailed on, without much reluctancy and compulsion, to do that unkind office to their neighbor. In Bucks, exceedingly degenerated of late, they pay none, nor will any in the country levy by distress, choosing rather to be fined for their omission. William Biles did once, but will no more. In Chester also they are so slack nothing can drive them forward.

Thy dispute at home, the war without defence here, with the example of the Jerseys surrendering, makes this government too precarious to be called one. I hope all will be blessed with a happy issue; but, in the meantime, our circumstances are uneasy and require a speedy redress, were it but for the sake of thy property.

Re-surveys we find will answer better than expected, and must be drove forward, though at thy charge; for, if things be carried in respect to government otherwise than well, it will be difficult forcing a re-survey after the two years are expired, before which time, if all continues well, I hope there will not much remain to be done. We sell but little land unseparated, as we call it, in the woods, and of others are cautious; for, though we sell most dearer than thou didst, P. Penn's liberty land excepted, in which N. W., with the help of others, has unworthily abused us, yet the prices being so uncertain, we foresee ourselves incurring as certain blame as ever the former commissioners did, though I think more caution and obstinacy to all requests, in most cases, cannot be used than I have endeavored, as far as has lain in my power. But Octoraroe grant I cannot get over. Never Calais, I believe, came nearer Queen Mary's heart than that has to mine; though the cause I scarce know. When application was made, it appeared to all of us very reasonable; they first would give but £5 per hundred, with quit-rent, thinking it no better than Susquehanna lands, and admired at our refusing it; we offered for £10, but they

would not advance. Griffith Owen and E. Shippen knew something of the place, having been with thee at Susquehanna, which I did not. Upon a consultation we abated to £8 per hundred, but they refused and returned home; some time after they came to our terms and desired a warrant, but, having solicitously resolved several things in my thoughts relating to it, I endeavored to stave them off, but could not. I kept them, however, waiting a whole week in town without it, till at length, in a rage declaring they would not be fooled so, complained to the rest of the commissioners of my injustice. In drawing the warrant, I used all possible caution, and, much against their will, forced in 3000 acres for thy share, when they expected thou would have but one, which has now fallen in six excellent lots of 500 each, which, if a settlement be made there, will be of much more value than the whole was before. But my grief is, that it proves in the lower parts, within five miles of the navigable part of North East River, and is not so far out of dispute as to oblige them to pay the money; and rather than make a settlement there with our industrious people for Maryland, I wish the whole a lake of water. It was represented as halfway between New Castle and Conestoga,[1] which we thought would make it fall much further from Susquehanna, and £8 per hundred for land there, with a settlement to be made forthwith and yearly quit-rents we thought was much better than £5 per hundred with no rent at all; besides that, it was a convenient stage from the lower parts to Susquehanna, which would much encourage a settlement of that also. All these considerations made us almost fond of it at first proposal, but I soon fell from it, though too late, and now cannot think of it without trouble. I believe by Griffith Owen's thinking well of it, who was with thee and best knew the place, thou wilt have much better opinion than I, considering the six lots and thy inclination to have settlements on Chesapeake to trade by the bay; but I must own I have an aversion to the thought of any such for this age at

[1] [It is surprising that, twenty years after Penn's acquisition of the province, so little should have been known of its topography, in fact, little more than the information furnished by Holmes' Map.—EDITOR.]

least, being that it will highly injure the march of this Province, whose chief dependence must be Delaware, and therefore could wish the design could be blasted; but, in the meantime, would advise to procure Talbot's Manor, if possible, it having been offered, as I wrote by John Sotcher, copies of which went by Burman, to sale to Anthony Sharp, by him or his friends in Ireland. If any stop may be contrived to settlement this year, I shall not be wanting; but they are bent on it, and I have thwarted them so much that they will scarce hearken to me any more. The better to secure themselves, they went to Maryland to treat with Talbot's agent there, who entertained them too civilly. Thomas Fairman was long ago resolved on it for the company, being part of that called Talbot's Calf Pasture.

[After an account of mercantile transactions, he further says:] That trade, (to Barbadoes,) 't is believed, will be exceeding dangerous, for, while our frigates and privateers steer all upon the Spanish coasts for plunder, the cruisers of Martinico, &c. will have nothing to awe them on our coast this way, but may pick up all ventures out without hazard, unless the Queen will allow some good ships for a guard to the plantations, rather than which, 't is probable care will be taken to convoy the fleets at certain seasons of the year home, as now, from Virginia. I wish I may not in any case displease by mentioning it, but I am forced to say, that if thou wilt tender thy own interest, as well as to that of the people in this place, some endeavors must be used this war to have a more immediate protection of the Crown than heretofore has been, for the French having made peace with the Five Nations of Indians on one hand, and this Province having gained a great name these few years past abroad, which will encourage from sea, we cannot expect to pass unattacked from some quarter or other; and the confusion we were in upon a report last year of a French ship being in the river, is an unhappy instance of our condition, the more so because of the divisions of the people. The chief thing, in my judgment, in these dangerous times to be endeavored, is to make this river as dear to the Crown and as much its care as any other; an encouragement to which may be an increase to

our tobacco, with which we have loaded and are loading eight vessels this year already, besides those that are expected in, all direct for some part or other of England. They are mostly small, I confess, about eighty or ninety hogsheads, some more; however, the number makes a sound. Respects to all thy family from Thy most faithful and dutiful

JAMES LOGAN.

9th 5th mo., 1702, *per Andrew Lock.*

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *29th 5th mo.*, 1702.

. . . . . .

I have not much to advise of, more than the last post; a packet arrived, with others, directed to thee or the commander-in-chief of this place, to proclaim the war, which accordingly was done on Sixth-day last, the 24th instant.

Upon the occasion given, the governor, as he had done also before, recommended the people to think of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and since that, has issued commissions for one company of militia,[1] and intends to proceed all the government over. Those of the hot Church party oppose it to their utmost, because they would have nothing done that may look with a good countenance at home. They have done all they can to dissuade all from touching with it; but the captain, who is one George Lowther, mustered two days ago, had a sufficient company for the first appearance. He is a gentleman of Nottinghamshire, the family of Yorkshire, himself bred to the law, in which he excels. He arrived here a few weeks after thy departure, and would be useful would he stay, but it is not expected, having retired from England only till some storm blew over. He is a young man, has only his wife with him, having left two or three children in England; has a good interest by his discourse, in which he seems to be believed, with several of note, particularly the Duke of Newcastle[2] and Lord Lexington,[3] to

[1] First formation of a militia in Pennsylvania.—L.

[2] [John Holles, third Duke, ob. 1711.—EDITOR.]

[3] [Robert Sutton, second Baron, ob. 1723. S. P. M.—EDITOR.]

the last of which he designs to write in favor of this place. He is opposite to the hot Church party, and I hope will be helpful to make an interest against them.

We are very anxious to hear from thee, and the governor much troubled, but has now gone to see Lewis Morris, to enquire of him personally what he cannot hear by writing.

Thy affairs here require a speedy hand, and it would be a great ease to know what we may presume upon in the lower counties. They are now exceeding stiff and big, upon some advice that an address of theirs has been received at court; but hitherto we are all in the dark. If Lord Cornbury have the Jerseys, they will be happy in a governor; he is exceedingly beloved[1] in those provinces, and much esteemed by Friends here. Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, in the name of themselves and others, sent after him to New York a pipe of excellent Madeira wine, imported lately in a vessel of our own directly, and a tun of double beer, which has engaged him in all protestations of service possible in these parts, or wherever he has an interest. I am sure he is in debt to us for a civil entertainment. He is now at Albany, treating with the Indians, who came to him very slow; things in that quarter do really appear dark. I wish we may be in no danger from them. Harry of Conestoga was here last week, and has now gone to the Onondagoes, and has engaged to bring certain advice how they stand affected. They are eager in the West Indies in privateering; we have done some mischief, but we hear of none from the enemy. General Codrington has gone down, we hear, with a force to take St. Christophers. Nothing new has occurred by the war on the continent, only that some of the Eastern Indians have fallen off, and done some mischief to those parts of New England, and four French men-of-war have alarmed the inhabitants there. . . . .

Thou hast met, I doubt not, with sufficient exercises there, and would therefore unwillingly send complaints from hence, some of my past letters, I fear, not proving altogether grateful, yet I am forced to say, that thy affairs here cannot be pushed

[1] [It will be found hereafter that he had reason to change this favorable opinion.—EDITOR.]

forward with that success as might prevent all uneasiness to those concerned. The great scarcity of money, and the decay of trade this summer, with that and the small-pox, has been very discouraging, and makes business very difficult. It would be allowed here, I believe, that I do what one man can, but thy presence in the country would mend all much; and, provided business were set in a right channel, to go on, of course, without depending on thyself so immediately as before. Thy presence would be an encouragement, thy eye a satisfaction both to thyself and those who are to do thy business. T. Story is gone to the eastward, uncertain when he shall return. G. Owen to New York to meet Hugh Roberts, dangerously ill there, in his return from New England, but they say is recovered. If thou stay there any time, for which we should be much troubled, there will be a necessity for more or other commissioners. Edward Shippen is truer to it than could be expected. G. Owen is very hearty, but much taken off by the sickness. Thomas Story, capable, but now absent, which is the first time.

Inclosed is a bill from Thomas Masters on Hide for £33, which I suppose will have honor; if not paid in the time, please not to protest it, for I have agreed with him to recover no other damage than interest. We long to hear more of Mr. William's voyage hither. Letters are arrived here on all hands, dated seven months after thy last, which troubles many. Money comes in exceeding slow. R. Stockton has paid but £180 in money and some more by bills that pay, nor any else proves as expected. I wish thou were an eye-witness of our difficulties, and then should be easier. I am, in all fidelity,

Thy most dutiful servant, J. Logan.

James Logan to William Penn.

[*Extracts.*] Philadelphia, 13*th* 6*th mo.*, 1702.

. . . . . The tobacco, I hope will prove good; I have taken all possible pains with it; yet there is some better and much worse; 't is the best I can make of what comes into my hands, but is so exceedingly troublesome that, were I allowed ten per

cent. commission, it would scarce answer the fatigue, the mentioning of which brings me an opportunity of telling thee that, under five per cent., it cannot be expected I can make any returns at all. I shall scarce get anything by rents, not having time to collect them myself. Returns are my care, and if they yield me nothing proportionable to my trouble, I lose the bloom of my youth in vain, and in time to come shall make my decayed strength a monument of folly, to instruct those that come after to beware; in short, none in Pennsylvania undergoes the trouble I do. What I undertake I am able to perform, and it would be extreme hard should I lose my labor, as I needs must at a price that has been mentioned. Hitherto I have done my utmost, and shall proceed.

I shall this year, if freight can be had, ship and send off better than 2000 pounds, and, if all go well, perhaps make that sum sterling, &c.

The town mill does well, but has little custom. Schuylkill mill went ten days in the spring; but holding my hand in paying J. Marshe's bills, which he would continue to draw on me for his maintenance, notwithstanding he had the profits of the mill, went privately away from her towards New England, without any notice, and now is skulking about in that province; the mill in the meantime is running to ruin, for nobody will take to her, she is such a scandalous piece of work, should we give her for nothing. Pray remember to send over a small pair of cullen stones for this of the town.

We have sold no land in any of the manors but Rocklands, and 200 acres in Springfield. The bank (*i. e.* the bank lots) goes off exceeding slowly, as the tax comes in through the great remissness of officers, which I cannot manage: Many are full of talking friendship, but whatever has to be done lies wholly on me, so which makes things sometimes heavier than I can bear. I could never have thought that some in thy absence would pay all their professions of service, they so liberally made, so slightly as with wind only. I much want some further support here, some day I may fall by, &c.

There has nothing new occurred. Butterworth, mentioned in my last, has brought his brigantine in. The governor presses

forward a militia, but the Church party, as they call themselves, leave no stone unturned to oppose it, for reasons I have before expressed; an approbation is much wanted, and makes the governor very uneasy.

Lord Cornbury[1] is not returned, as we hear of, from Albany. The Indians, 't is said, give him trouble, and come in but slowly, to which his long stay is imputed. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Old Peter died last week at Pennsbury; they are weak in hands there. Hugh, an excellent servant, but going to be married; he has been sickly. Mary is well. If I thought J. S. would bring no servants I would venture to buy one.[2] W. Grott is gone, and Barras is good for nothing. Friends are generally in health, but Hugh Roberts going off. I am, with due respect to all thy family, Thy most faithful, &c., J. Logan.

James Logan to Letitia Penn.

Philadelphia, 14*th 6th mo.*, 1702.

Dear Mistress: — I lately wrote by a vessel that perhaps may come in company with this, and therefore render it needless; but having since that disposed of some more of the lot, I think myself obliged to inform thee of it before thy departure. I had sold four of the front small lots, but had received money only for one, viz., £150, for which I gave thee a bill at thy departure for £100 sterling, drawn by Richard (illegible) on Jonathan Searth of London, paid, I hope, long before this time. The other three lots came to £300, which I have received;

[1] [Cornbury visited Albany to examine the decayed stockade fort at that place. Complaining of Col. Romer's neglect in not replacing it by a stone fort, and apprised by the Indians that the French were making great preparations at Montreal, "which could be designed against no place but Albany and Schenectady," Cornbury began "Fort Anne," the foundation-stone of which he laid August 15th, 1702. — *Cornbury to Lords of Trade, IV. Documents relating*, &c., 968–970. — Editor.]

[2] [This refers to the purchase of a definite term of service. — Editor.]

200 of it is in Saml. Carpenter's at interest, the other is in mine, not having an opportunity of putting it out, being as yet mixed in thy father's business, from which I cannot extricate it; for, though I mention money, I receive no such thing but by discounts and transfers, and when brought into a fit man's hands, I there fix it on interest, where 't is better it should lie than be sent home, because here it yields above one-third more. I received none by agreement before 25th 1st mo. last, since which time thou ought to have interest, but then, for the most time past, thy father must pay it. I have since sold 60 foot of the bank, clear of the reversion, with a small High Street lot, to Thos. Masters for £230, to be paid by way of merchandize, and therefore cannot be brought to bear interest these six mos. yet, but it shall as soon as possible. I have sold the corner lot next the Meeting-House for £115, and three High Street lots, Second Street, for £50 each, and the third for £60, and believe I shall sell the remaining four in the Third Street very speedily, but these are not for money; they are to be built on and mortgaged for two years, which I take to be rather better, for, upon failure of payment, the improvements become thine, and the interest is secure. I have sold in all to the value of £895, and shall continue as occasion offers, but 't is impossible to bring it to interest forthwith, as I always have labored so I still shall, for thy advantage. I have agreed for to the value of £100, or thereabouts, of the new tract near Newcastle, where thou hast 15,000 acres. I sell none there now under £20 per hundred. I hope in one year to be able to raise thee a good portion from which is already settled on thee in this Province, good part of which thou knew nothing of. Should thou have dependence on nothing else, I wish it may not be too easy disposed of, and upon no other terms than that of merit; 't would be a scandal that any of thy father's exigencies should be an occasion to sacrifice thee to any but where true love (illegible) as merit. If we continue quiet and I have encouragement to remain in thy father's business, which I much doubt of, and am sure shall have much less reason to value than himself, I hope, with good management, to see him cleared of all incumbrances without being obliged there.

We exceedingly long, dear mistress, to hear of you, and especially to be put out of doubt about thy marriage, which is commonly reported here, if so, I wish thee happiness, and shall say no more. Jos. Shippen is married at Boston; we expect him here in ten days. Since thy departure, I cannot inform thee of one wedding. . . . . J. S. has taken a journey to New England, having once more received a denial. As for my own part, I must vow celibacy. But perhaps thou art married, and then all this is flat and dull, shall therefore leave it and conclude. Thy most faithful and affectionate friend and servant,

J. L.

WILLIAM PENN JR. TO JAMES LOGAN.

WORMINGHURST, *August the 18th*, 1702.

DEAR FRIEND:—I must own you have a great deal of reason to complain of my not writing of late, nor can I make business my excuse, but this much I can sincerely assure you, that the great love and friendship I bear you is not lessened since we parted, and I am most infinitely obliged to you for letting me know the base and scandalous reports some people have given of me with you, that I might have an opportunity of vindicating myself, both to you and all my friends with you, wherefore I hope you will be assured I am far different from what I am represented to be; I love my friends, keep company that is not inferior to myself, and never am anything to excess. My dress is all they can complain of, and that but decently genteel, without extravagancy; and as for the poking-iron, I never had courage enough to wear one by my side. You will oblige me if you give this character of me till I make my personal appearance among you, (which shall not be long, God willing,) and I will show you I have been villainously treated. I was much surprised at what you wrote to me about my sister's engagement to W. Masters, but we find little in it, for she has been at the meetings, and he was here, but could prove no engagement, for it passed the meetings, and she is to be married the day after to-morrow. This comes by John Sotcher, who has had but few hours' warning, or I had been longer. My

wife and sister are well, and desire to be kindly remembered to thee, as I am Thy most affectionate friend,

Wm. Penn, Jr.

My children are, I thank God, both well, and remember to thee. The boy is a jolly fellow, able to make two of his uncle already. I am sorry you are like to be unsuccessful in your amours. I assure you you have my good wishes, and should have my assistance were I there. Pray give her and her brothers my respects, and tell Joe I hope he will be your friend, for the friendships' sake he promised me when here, as well as for your own. I will write to him by the next ship that sails.

William Penn to James Logan.

Worminghurst, 19*th 6th mo.*, 1702.

James Logan: — There is a gentlewoman coming over in the Canterbury, as I suppose that, upon the credit of my cousin Rooth, thou art to supply as far as £60 (or 70) of your money, as my next on this subject shall advise (yearly). She has been unhappy, and changes the air for retirement, her husband living, but an ill choice, and that her misfortune, of which be discreet. any civility thou showest her will be acknowledged. She is recommended to my cousin Asheton to be boarded. If he takes in none, advise together for a sober and reasonable family. I never saw her, but have her character from him as a person seeking solitude. I add no more but my good wishes, and that if what my cousin Markham wrote to my sister and self, about which he will tell thee, be practicable, I would oblige him at last, though he might have given less reason to our malicious and spiteful enemies. I am thy loving friend,

Wm. Penn.

The next letter[1] contains an account of mercantile transactions, and many complaints of the difficulties under which they labored. The only articles which I shall transcribe, are as follows: — L.

[1] [No date given, but probably of 6th mo., 1702.—Editor.]

About three weeks ago Edmund Du Casteel, coming from Jamaica, fell in with the French fleet, lat. 35, commanded by Chateau Regnaud, convoying the Plate fleet home; there were 36 men-of-war, the whole fleet 56 in number. Edmund was on board the Admiral, and had a pass from him, assuring him there was no war. Whether the admiral knew better or not is uncertain; Edmund did not then. Benbow is still in Jamaica; they say he has despatched expresses home, which 't is thought is about them, but it was not publicly known in the West Indies that any fleet so large were in those parts.

Thou wilt hear, before this comes to hand, I suppose, that Gen. Codrington has taken St. Christophers from the French, and all hands are busy at that detestable work, privateering, in those parts. We have no news from Europe for some months.

We are exceeding desirous to hear of thy resolution in regard to this place. Thy presence would be a great comfort to many, and a right method a great furtherance to business, and ease, I hope, to me. I struggle through better than I expected, but for want of support, it is sometimes too hard. I have often been plain, but it may well be allowed, for I am sure I have reason on my side. I hope Mr. William's resolutions hold to visit us. Friends generally are in health, but Hugh[1] Roberts goes off.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *6th 7th mo.*, 1702.

I have thine of the 18th 7th, with the duplicates. I heartily wish that of Charles Read, Keeble, &c., had come as ample as thy former packets per J. Sotcher seemed to promise me. He is now at Plymouth, from whom I yesterday heard, and send this thither for conveyance.

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[1] Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson, dated 11th 6th-mo., 1702: "Dear Hugh Roberts is, we think, very near his end. I was to see him on First-day, and then took a solemn and tender farewell, his soul being resigned, earnestly desiring and expecting his change; as in his life he was a preacher of love, so now in his latest moments does he continue to be so."—L.

Hopewell.—This vessel is, through the mercy of God, come safe to the Frith in Scotland, and there waits for a convoy, with divers other ships, and one is gone for them.

Tobacco.—I am sorry for the difficulty thou findest in gathering in the lower (counties) rents in merchantable tobacco.[1] Take any thing else that will make a surer market, though three or four months more be required for it.

Cantico.—I shall be glad if this dull sailer get as safely as the Hopewell. I am tender as to insurance, and did nothing in it for the Hopewell. Also, if the Rebecca comes well, I shall esteem it an engaging Providence.

Gov. Hamilton.—The Queen is at the Bath, and things move slowly, but daily hope for Gov. Hamilton's approbation. In short, your neighbor's friends endeavor to extend his government as far as they can, and to have a word from him (Lord Cornbury,[2] I mean) in his favor may serve him.

Lord Cornbury.—I am glad, since he came, you were able to treat him to content, and acknowledged it to Edward Shippen and the rest concerned, in proportion to their service.[3] With a just resentment, I heard by D. Camp, to whom my love, he should say, these people will kill me with kindness. If his luxury and poverty, which is to extremity, and his father's at this hour, don't bias me; he has sense and address. But thy packet covering his put me to twenty odd shillings charge postage, whereas, directed to the Secretary's Office for the Queen's service had saved it, so thou mayst direct, upon occasion "*To John Ellis, Esq., at Sir Charles Hedges' Office at Whitehall,*" and within for me, will be a safe way.

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[1] The tobacco trade is always spoken of by James Logan as being precarious and troublesome in the extreme, he says: "The commodity in general, as ordered among us, is certainly the greatest cheat as well as slavery in trade.—L.

[2] [EDWARD HYDE, Viscount Cornbury, who is so frequently mentioned in this correspondence, was the grandson of the famous Earl of Clarendon, and succeeded to the earldom in 1709. He married Katharine, daughter of Lord O'Brian, son of the Earl Richmond, of Ireland, who died in 1706. She was buried in Trinity Church, New York. Lord Cornbury died in 1723 without male issue.—EDITOR.]

[3] A postscript to a short letter of Wm. Penn's says: "Lord Cornbury's letter to his father never mentioned you."—L.

My Son.—I had sent my son with J. Sotcher, had he staid as long at Portsmouth as, unknown to me, he has done at Plymouth; and, since the convoy is yet unready, perhaps that may be done yet, and the approbation go too, unless the Queen's distance should prolong it.

Proclaiming her.—By N. Puckle, the first that sailed thither, after the change, but, after leave to go, I fear hung too long by the way here.

Stockton.—Since my title pinched him, and that put him upon the purchase, I think he should pinch to get money, and send me it without any more ado. I am sorry I took not the half of the subscriptions with me in pieces of eight, though I had lost £70 per cent., so greatly am I straitened, and I perceive like to be, by the method observed by S. Carpenter; another course must be taken, or I must look to myself as fast as I can.

Tishe.—My daughter is married next Fifth-day[1] . . . . . inst. will be three weeks. We have brought her home, where I write, a noble house for the city, and other things, I hope, well. But S. Penington's, if not S. Harwood's, striving for William Masters against faith, truth, righteousness, will not be easily forgotten, though things came honorably off to his and the old envy's confusion, his father's friends nobly testifying against the actions of both. I bless the Lord this leaves us well, but I would not have thee divulge my writing now, because I cannot write to any else, but mind it for thy private observation and advertisement. But per the next post intend more letters, for John's letters came but yesterday to hand. I leave matters with thee, and hope the utmost diligence as well as truth from thee, and am Thy assured friend, Wm. Penn.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 11*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1702.

The ship staying at York for the convoy gives this further opportunity of writing, which I wish I could make use of as I

[1] [Illegible, but should be 10th of Sept., 1702. Letitia Penn was married to Wm. Aubrey, Thursday, (Fifth-day,) August 20, 1702, O. S.—Editor.]

would, but, almost ever since my last, I have been severely visited with a fever, which makes me incapable in all respects of writing as I should.

At York they are visited with a mortal distemper, much the same with what was here three years ago, which sweeps off great numbers; 't is such a visitation as that place, they say, never knew before, carrying off eight, ten, or twelve in a day. They are unhealthy likewise at Boston this post informs us.

A fever alone, and a fever and ague rages amongst us here very violently; the fever is not at all mortal, but is exceeding afflicting, a few fits leaving the patient so weak and languishing that it requires a great length of time to restore strength. I have had one these three months, as most severe as any in the country; one fit held me almost speechless and besides my senses twelve hours on a stretch, but I bless God I am recovering, and have now got strength enough to write this in an interval; it lies much in my head and makes me incapable of all business, but, with God's blessing, hope in a few weeks to recover my strength again. I hope all thy family enjoy a better state of health there; we much long to hear from Europe, and of thy affairs particularly. Our Mayor just now here, and gives thee his dear love; five or six of his family are or have been down, but are recovering. The small-pox is over in town, and is there drawing well-nigh over; it has been favorable. I shall not now add, but that, &c., &c.

Thomas Story is returned from his northern tour.

Some light will be thrown on this article by the following extract: "This coming by R. Janney, in company with William Masters, gives me occasion to turn my pen to a subject which, as duty on one hand obliges me to hint, so prudence with the other to touch with the utmost tenderness. If, upon the news brought by several letters on board Guy, that in all probability my young mistress by this time has changed her name, though I willingly would, I cannot forbear informing thee of what has been since but too liberally discovered of her, and among the rest, by some that signed the certificate,* viz., that she was under

* In the Society of Friends, when a certificate of removal is given to single persons, it is mentioned whether they are, or not, free from marriage engagements.—L.

[In another hand we find the following memorandum: "It was so formerly, but not now, in 1850."—EDITOR.]

an engagement of marriage, before she left this place, to William Masters; the said signers having, upon some unhappy information given them, lately expressed so great a dissatisfaction at what they had done, that it had been proposed to send over and contradict or retract it. I am really a stranger to what passed on this occasion, but what I could fear I tried to prevent; but, from the discourses of those who had better opportunities of knowing, I have too much reason to believe she was actually under some engagement to William, from which, with great reflection and some dishonor, she cannot recede without he resign. My reason for mentioning this is, that if she is engaged to William Aubrey, but all not confirmed, such caution may be used with William Masters as to get a clearance from him the best way it may be obtained; or, if all be over, lest W. Masters, on the disappointment, which he will bitterly resent, should be guilty of any expressions which may tend to her disquiet, that prudent measures should be used to soften him, and stop his mouth from injuring her, either in respect to her husband or the world. I am much troubled that there should be occasion for this from me, and that it must expose me to unkind reflections, at least, if communicated, &c.

"There is not one syllable here designed on his (W. M.'s) account; for, in affairs relating to that sex, I am noways his debtor, though I wish him well, which he will scarcely believe, and therefore has been unkind to me. I mention this only to shew that nothing prevails with me but the desire of her honor and welfare; whoever could make her happiest would be most congratulated by me on his success, &c.

"Wm. Penn, Jr., in a letter of this period says: 'My sister Letitia has, I believe, a very good sort of man, that makes a good husband. William Masters, whatever grounds he had for it in Pennsylvania, made a mighty noise here, but it lasted not long.'"

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 23*d* 7*mo.*, 1702.

Thine, per Rebecca as well as Hopewell, are come; that per ye first just now; yet I cannot answer, being ready to take coach for the Bath: my only business there being to solicit the Queen, and urge the Dukes of Somerset and Queensbury, about confirming Governor Hamilton with us, for the Lords of Trade have condemned him upon[1] my memorial unfit, because of Randals swearing him guilty of forbidden trade upon a Scotch ship, or master at Burlington he indulged. I pray for but one year's time, till he can have time to vindicate himself and coun-

[1] That is, notwithstanding my memorial. —L.

try. I must be gone, and least J. Sotcher should. The Rebecca is come with the fleet from Virginia, and the Hopewell with the colliers without insurance; but logwood is cheap, and I fear the profit will not be much if it is money. S. V. will be more particular. We are through mercy well, and salute thee and all our friends as if named. Thy real friend,

WM. PENN.

Lord Cornbury's letter to his father never mentioned you.

(*Per Wm. Biles, in the Experiment.*)

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[*Extracts.*] PHILADELPHIA, *2d 8th-mo.*, 1702.

The writer, Mrs. Logan observes, complains of being still almost incapable of business, from several relapses and returns of his disorder, which greatly affected his head. The Industry, the ship by which his former letter was sent, sailed round to New York on the 17th 6th-mo., and was still there waiting for the convoy of a man-of-war. The occasion of their stay was "Lord Cornbury still keeping at Albany: and for fear of the sickness which is still furious there." The writer then says: I hope the distempers among us, as small-pox, have been the cause of the great damp in trade this year, and though at this time 't is extreme dull, that it may recover. . . . .

We have scarce any trade to the West Indies; our goods that we bought here for 20, sell there for 15. . . . . Wheat bears no price; the bolters universally refuse to buy.

I am sorry letters cannot be more pleasant; it is with regret I write, and am sure take no pleasure in melancholy stories, but I must act the part of a true historian, whose subject, if displeasing, the fault is in that, and not in him; and, therefore, believing myself obliged to give impartial relations of what passes after the preceding must give the following:

Our corporation of Philadelphia have of late so highly exerted their powers, especially in claiming a right to all the aldermen to act as justices in the Court of Common Pleas, for both city and county, which some considerable lawyers, as well

as the Governor and others, think they have no right to: and that it has bred confusion between them and the justices by commission. Guest and Captain Finney, the chief, opposed it highly; the latter refusing to sit any more, and the former uneasy to the utmost. Whether he will sit or not, I know not; his love to a place perhaps may prevail. The courts have been strangely adjourned upon it, but at length the Mayor and aldermen carried it, I may say by force: declaring thou hadst given a charter that was their expectation of it, and none whatever should hinder them; and proceeding accordingly, they have held their Mayor's Court, in which they use the same methods, and claim the whole fines for all offences within their cognizance, among which those of the public-houses, for selling without licenses, and which is the only one I have been able to get a farthing by, touches me the nearest. The rest I think they have mostly a right to; of these I have got as many imposed as the juries would let me, and got them also levied this summer, but if they can have their way, I have been taking pains for others. This I doubt will cost us a dispute with them, which I shall enter on, rather than lose them, though it will be one means more to expose me to ill-will.

A fortnight ago a council being held, the election of representatives for assembly granted to be yearly, 1st of 8mo., to sit the 14th, by the Charter of Privileges, was discoursed of, which not being by writ, and therefore not the Governor's act, he was of opinion with but few others, among whom myself, being admitted freedom of speech in council; for that day, with some ado, I got down stairs and was present; that by all means an assembly at this juncture — the Governor not being approved — was to be avoided; especially, beside the aforesaid reason which would occasion disputes when it came to legislation: because in all probability it would be a means of disuniting the lower counties from this Province, which was reckoned unfit now — and that all our study should be only to preserve peace and good order, and prevent occasions of complaint, as much as ought to be, which attempting matters of that moment might suggest; and it was thought that as the lower counties, who have absolutely denied the charter, would not take any notice of it, so the

province might slip it over, not remembering it: but some being of opinion this would forfeit their privileges, and others who had got by the end, thinking this the only time to disunite and serve themselves with laws for their purpose, took care to publish it, so that yesterday being the day election was made, Friends chiefly appearing.

The members of this county are, David Lloyd in the first place, then Anthony Morris, T. Richardson, and Griffith Jones, the stiffest men they could choose. The paper was presented to the sheriff by that worthless man. . . . . I forgot to mention, when speaking of the charter, that it is the opinion of the most indifferent men of sense, that the whole management of the corporation, especially their contending with the country justices — those being so called who are such by thy commission — is an intrigue of David Lloyd's and John Moore's, who are now most strictly united to confuse all our courts and their proceedings; that a stop being put to the administration of justice, such complaints may be now sent home, as were upon the convulsions of this Government when the King took it into his hands before; but what Friends' intention in choosing the first member could be, is yet a mystery. He is now made J. Moore's deputy judge of the Admiralty, advocate at the said court, and is now at New Castle upon a trial in it, notwithstanding his opposition to it before thy arrival occasioned thee so much trouble. He and Moore are the city advocates, and daily blow them up to such mettle, I really know not what to make of the face of things among us. This town's charter, which should bind the people to thee, sets them so much for themselves, that there is too little regard paid thee, and scarce any to thy interest. For my own part, I have endeavored to deal as equally to the people as possible can consist with thy interest; yet, having so few, I may with much justice say, to stand by me firmly, especially in consultation for thy interest, that I am left exposed, rendered severe and cruel by exacting of prices, which yet I know are still too moderate and low; were it in my power to do better, though in the general thou hast no reason to complain, if the examination be not left till seven or ten years hence, when the prices may be doubled; this I know I am universally found fault with by

the common vague of the country, though reasonable men think more favorably, and balance it with that of my discharging but my duty in it. I speak not a syllable of this, I can boldly declare, to gain favor; but as the matter offers, which, if not believed, will be a real injustice, for I can safely say, there is generally so great a disregard of thy affairs among the people, that to carry them on vigorously is to sail against wind and tide. They are very considerable in this province, as I have showed before; and if things go well in Europe and the West Indies give encouragement to trade, may extricate me of all my trouble from creditors, though that calculation was too large, for buyers are very dull now, to what they were just before thy going off: no strangers having this year come among us, nor any ship from England, but the Messenger. I say thy affairs, however, are so considerable that they not only deserve thy regard, but immediate presence, as I have often said before. The load now lies so much upon me, that, notwithstanding I have but little befriended myself since my coming into the province, and this year, by reason of my charge, less than ever, and therefore might want a support: yet I had better go into the woods than perpetually undergo the fatigues, which in a little time, for want of more true friends to thee, should things continue as they are, will grow wholly unsupportable; nor can I name one here fit for want of either capacity or inclination, to take off any share of the burden. The commissioners on that business still sit pretty duly as to property; but Edward Shippen is much thronged in his own affairs, and has the faculty of understanding little but those, yet he has been true, and well inclined, according to his ability, and I hope will continue so: but the corporation has done him no kindness. I wish thine—by any act—could be made his own business, and then near would equal him. Thomas Story, with a resolution taken up not to give any offence, besides his natural inclination, avoids, as much as possible, any trouble of that kind; being exceeding uneasy to him, and is desirous to be released, as I suppose thou wilt shortly hear from his own hand. Honest Griffith Owen is steel to the back—were he very capable—but none of these will concern themselves any further than that bare commission, except in some few things I force

on them. Nothing can be expected from any thou canst send from thence, for they never proved well yet. Thyself, therefore, it is that must stand the main wheel, and I doubt not it will prove worth while. Pray write nothing from my letters to any here — as the corporation or others — for then I must fly the province. Pray write jointly to the commissioners if thou suspect anything in my letters — be pleased to consult any from hence. 'Tis an unhappiness that Puckle is not arrived before the departure of this ship — who is bound to Milford from Wm. French, &c.; Wm. Burge goes in her; John Guy is master — that I might answer thy letters, which I expect will be angry for those things sent, John Sotcher, who we hear is arrived, not coming sooner. But however the unhappiness of affairs may have rendered things, I did all that, with any show of reason, was in my power: and I am sure no backwardness of mine was the cause of it; but I have there given my reasons, which I hope will be satisfactory. My trouble is, that Puckle sailed from London before J. Sotcher arrived. At Pennsbury they are now in indifferent health, but have had the distemper. Peter, I informed before, is dead. Hugh and Barnes, the only two white servants, have been ill of the distemper, but are recovered. Hugh is going to be married and leave us as soon as his place can be supplied. Mary is so lonesome that she is resolved in winter, if her husband come not before, to come live in town.

Having some time after thy departure to live in S. Carpenter's house, I continued longer, resolving not to leave it till spring; but then receiving in thy letters an account of Mr. William's design to come over, and finding no convenience to be had in town for the council, commissioners of property, reception of the Governor, &c.; and willing that some appearance of government should continue, by having a fixed place for that, and all other public affairs; and thinking by that, thy coming, which I caused to be believed, as much as possible, would be the more firmly depended upon, I have still continued, and kept house in it till this time — being the only suitable place to be thought of in town — but now hearing nothing more of thy son's coming, and I finding things bear too hard upon me, I design speedily to go, table myself and man abroad, and shorten my charges,

which I have hitherto been at, chiefly for public considerations. . . . .

The town mill goes well, but will not yield much profit, though the cost above £400, without a pair of black stone or cullens — which I wrote for before. The miller next week leaves for that on Naaman's Creek: we have not yet got another. . . . .

JAMES LOGAN TO RICHARD HARFORD.

[*Extract.*] PHILADELPHIA, 3*d* 8*th-mo.*, 1702.

. . . . At New York they are sorely visited with a mortal distemper, equal, they say, to the plague; and here we have also with a fever, which, though exceeding troublesome, seldom ever touched the life, but otherwise very afflicting. With this I have been tormented for six weeks past, and have scarce recovered strength yet for any business: it seized the head much and rendered the brain weak, to which impute what of that kind appears in this letter; that about B. I excepted, for then I was in my perfect senses. I will not add but that with dear love to thyself, and sincere respects to thy wife, brother, and friend, I am

Thy sincere and still affectionate friend, J. L.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[*Extract.*] PHILADELPHIA, 18*th* 8*mo.*, 1702.

. . . . Those scandalous papers of that unworthy tool, Col. Quary, were laid before the council with thy answers and rejoinders, and met the due resentment of them all. They have ordered an answer to be drawn up here — the best that can — but pray do not expect more in thy absence than could be done while thou wast present. C. Read is an instance of it, though he appeared very hearty. I wish there were no more; but I have been very plain on that head in my former letters.

On the 14th instant, fourteen representatives met for assembly for the province, but none for the lower counties, they declaring, as we since hear, that the Charter of Privileges was no sum-

mons to them; but had writs gone down they would have chose, which could not be, because it had been denying them the charter; nor would they have done it. Besides, the Governor—as in my last by Wm. Burge to Milford—was much averse to any assembly at all, if it could be slid over: and what has already past shows what old grounds there were for it.

The fourteen representatives being convened on the day appointed, with the Governor and council, and finding themselves too small in number to act, desired to know whether the lower counties had chose or made return of members; which being answered in the negative, they requested they might proceed, according to the grant and rules of the charter, which is that they might enter their separation from the lower counties, and so have four members more added to them for each county, so as to make them twenty-four. This involved a total disunion from the said counties. The whole council opposed, and to their utmost, by all the mild ways possible, holding frequent conferences, especially every night, and using the same endeavors in the day; yet they were all obstinate to a man. David Lloyd chiefly encouraging it, till at length seeing the great earnestness of both Governor and council, who they believed at last mostly sought their good as well as their own, upon a motion industriously urged in some of the conferences, that they should stay at least till writs were sent down to try the lower counties, into the tail of which a paragraph was inserted, hoping it would please. After three desperate tuggings, they at length wore out with shame, and over D. Lloyd's head—as appeared by his absenting himself—they presented themselves; and J. G., in behalf of them all who were there, by their order, declared their sentiments were, that they had been long joined to the said counties; that the charter was a new thing, and as they would not act precipitately, therefore craved a month longer to consider of it, but would say nothing at all to the writ—a copy of one of which is enclosed. I cannot get the minutes ready. The Governor and council were wholly of opinion that separation at this juncture—considering what appeared from Col. Quary's papers—would prove exceedingly injurious to thy affairs, which papers were also sent the representatives to peruse.

I cannot add. I am ashamed to say this unaccountable distemper still sticks close upon me, as most others that have had it, with relapses, grievous headaches and weakness; yet I still do what nature will allow me, which makes me longer in recovering. I often thought I had been free of it, but still find it hard.

David Lloyd's great design seems to be the charter of property which he has already moved, and which will prove very unhappy, because though thou didst give the negative from England, to the whole, yet the paper thou wrote with thy own hand, and signed and sealed, delivering it to the Governor, (Hamilton,) will make troublesome work, I doubt, because it grants unreasonably, and thou hast sent nothing yet of a charter as expected, though could they judge of affairs, they would not.

At Pennsbury they are well. Mary gives all her service and dear love. She comes to town this winter if her husband comes not. I am, as Mary, thy faithful and dutiful servant,

James Logan.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 1*st*, 10*th-mo.*, 1702.

[The beginning of this letter, says Mrs. Logan, contains acknowledgments of the receipts of the Proprietor's letters, and an account of the writer's own weak state of health from many relapses of his disorder. He then proceeds:]

As to Quary, touched in several places, he was long believed here to have fallen into the hands of the French, which struck a great damp into that party; but unhappily about ten days ago he brought the first news of his arrival himself. He appears very big upon it, struts extremely among his own herd; magnifies his own services and the great deference paid him there, as well as his victory; and boasts that he not only foiled thee before the Lords of Trade, but had gained his point before the Queen herself, with several stories patched up, as much as possible, to thy disadvantage, at which that envious crew hug themselves, and are overgrown with expectation of all becoming Dons, &c. He also brought with him, they say, a letter of thanks from the

Lords of Trade to those of the lower counties, who sent the address, assuring them of their regard and protection, all which being greedily embraced by those who would have it so, is of very ill consequence to the carrying on of business, where any of them are concerned: an instance of which I had the other day from one below. John Healy, who has always before appeared to me extremely friendly, and who had engaged to pay George Dakeque for me last 7th-day due on his bond; instead of money gave only this answer: "That he was informed another receiver-general was shortly to call them to account; and, therefore, to prevent his paying his rent over again, he thought it safest to secure the money in his own hands." I wrote to John about it, as hoping it a misinformation, and that I could not believe it of him, but have had no answer.

The Council have meetings to consider of his (Quary's) articles in the Governor's absence, but are at a loss how to frame effectual answers by negatives; they judge he ought to prove them: for that the Friends have barely denied them will be no answer at all, at least not near so effectual as those thou couldst give when confronting him there; the credit of what is sent from hence consisting only in the signing of names: which they will always clamor against, and affirm to be picked and called for the purpose of making us all parties; and thy answers made on the spot, contradicting him to his face, must needs prevail more than his. The method, therefore, proposed to be taken is, viz., to address the Queen herself, congratulating her accession, &c., as Friends there, and others here, with our adjacent colonies, have made and are about making, and in that to complain closely of the abuses put upon us by men of such a character; and to request her, that a commission of inquiry may be issued to some of our neighbors who are impartial, and may be presumed to be noways prejudiced against us, to make a full examination of all matters alleged; where all the requisite proofs, on every side, may be at hand, and full credit be given to the report, against which there may be no account.

Whether this will really take or not, is yet uncertain, by reason of the Governor's absence, who came from West Jersey the day before the Assembly had appointed to meet, and went

away for Amboy the day after they broke up, which was the fifth day after they came together; but of this more hereafter.

It is, however, concluded that answers shall be drawn, in which considerable advances are to be made; and because the messenger is hurrying away unexpectedly before the frost, all possible care shall be taken to dispatch them by the first opportunity from the eastward or otherwise. The Governor having lately moved his family to Amboy, and my continuing some weeks after Puckle's arrival under that unhappy affliction of the distemper settling in my head, which I often feared would prove fatal to my memory, as an apoplexy, have been the true causes why I have not been able to get these things ready.

It were to be wished some other officers of the government, who get no less by it than I do, would more effectually lend a helping hand in those ministerial affairs with which, considering the other charges no less incumbent upon me, I am at present oppressed; but upon thy son's arrival, if thy own cannot be so soon, I hope for some relief.

We are sensible of thy great exigencies, for want of sufficient supplies there, but I can find no better way to remedy it than those I am upon. When thy son arrives, he will be a witness of our circumstances, and that I pretend nothing for the sake of excuse, but what we too feelingly experience to be true. Wheat, that while thou wast here was our best commodity, goes now begging from door to door, and can scarcely find a buyer; the cheapness of grain in England allowing provisions from thence at much easier rates than our countrymen will yet afford it; so that very few vessels have gone out this fall — which used to be the busiest time — and even these lie here long before freighted, a tedious time to the wharves, to get two-third loading, perhaps with which they are forced to go away. The merchants thus forbearing to buy, the country can get no money. Wheat they offer in pay, but that here is no vent for it, for it is no better than nothing; nor indeed the merchants much better supplied with money than the country. They buy goods of the vessels come in, at 150 per cent., but how they will be paid for, none can foresee; unless corn rise in England, or a peace — which is

not likely — open to us the Spanish trade, this province seems in danger of being brought to an ebb. . . . .

I dun for money to my utmost, showing to honest Friends and others to whom 't is fit, the convenient parts of thy letters; but even of the quitrents, which the county would more willingly pay than other debt; and in Chester County — always reputed the richest — a very good hand that I employed would in five weeks' time, spent almost wholly upon it, collect but about £30: though he went over the greatest part of it all. Of the supply from Bucks I have received but one ton and a half of flour. . . . .

Land, however, sells as well as ever, but they generally disappoint wholly in their pay; and many finding the difficulty fly off again; yet if trade once went with encouragement as before, thou needs not doubt, I believe, of being cleared of all thy incumbrances in some time, by this province alone, and as I have often said, it well deserves thy regard in person here. . . . .

For this past year, we have sold but 165 feet of the bank, of which good part is yet unpaid, according to thy concessions; who under thy hand granted two years for the latter moiety of the payment. This backwardness was foolishly occasioned by a public discourse of P. Parmyter, a few days after thy departure: who affirming thy right extended no further than to the edge of the river — I know not whether high- or low-water mark — and that all the ground gained from the river was the King's, and not thine, discouraged most (for it soon spread) from buying. Joshua Carpenter who was eager before, with several others, alleged this for their only reason.

I cannot believe but a bargain as thou mention — with the Crown — if to be had on any good terms, is fit to be accepted. Friends here, at least the generality of the most knowing, think government so ill-fitted to their principles, that it renders them very indifferent in that point, further than that they earnestly desire thy success in vindicating the country's reputation, and that they may not fall a spoil to such base hands as now seek our ruin. Privileges, they believe, such as might be depended on for continuance, both to thee and them with a moderate governor, would set thee much more at ease and give thee an hap-

pier life as proprietor, only than thou hast yet had as governor; besides, that it would exempt them from the solicitude they are under, both from their own importance and the malicious watchfulness of enemies.

A letter came directed to his "Excellency Lewis Morris, her Majesty's Governor of the Jersies," and we have heard a commission for him was ingrossed, and brought to the seal, but stopped by Lord Rochester and Clarendon, in behalf of Lord Cornbury, who has now obtained them — and that Col. Ingolsby is lieutenant, and J. Bass secretary; the report of which is afflicting to the West Jerseys, who, with others, may bless themselves at the management of affairs, when such a tool as the last, after so long opportunities of being known, can obtain a commission.

P. Parmyter has never been in the province since he first left it, a few days after thy departure. 'Tis said that Col. Quary is made a commissary for this place, by the Bishop of London:[1] so that 'tis feared J. Moore will now act by authority under him. The Governor is exceeding tender, for want of approbation, otherwise that office would soon be wrenched out of his (J. Moore's) hands, the register's I mean. He is base and ungrateful, as thou writes, we well know, and now begins daily to be more loathed by indifferent men. But that ever such a fellow should have a commission from thee, sticks deep in the thoughts of many.

A. Morris behaves as well as possibly his temper can let him; he seems much brought off from that busy humor, and sometimes speaks in a meeting; but David Lloyd is believed to be too deep in the plot with J. Moore. 'Tis certain they both join in endeavoring to stop the courts, and procrastinate acts of justice.

That of the French Indians I believe is entirely fictitious, we hear nothing like it; they seem quiet all around us. Harry has been lately among the Onandagoes, and promised to take this place in his return, as in his outsetting, but has failed of it, being come home near two months ago. They are quiet there, we

[1] [Henry Compton, translated from Oxford, ob. July 7, 1713. — Ed.]

hear; our own Indians for this last year have seldom come near us; some of them are uneasy, and threaten to disturb the remote settlers of land: such as the new German tract, which they clamor is not purchased. . . . . I have wrote to Dr. Zachary about the guns, as desired, but have no answer; perhaps he will write to thyself; our post, by Samuel's death, has of late much failed us. . . . .

I told and weighed that bag of money left sealed by Hall, in his presence, and gave him a receipt for it, he being near too much in our debt, but have not yet settled accounts with him. Instead of putting him down, the court sets at his house; he has no license, and I can do no more, for the corporation assume that to themselves. . . . .

Thou received a new wig thyself some little time before thy departure, as I remember, which cost either forty or fifty shillings, and N. Puckle would put an ill-favored one on me, which thou gave him he said to dispose of his last voyage: but I sent it forthwith to my wig-maker's to sell to the best advantage. . . . .

I have spoke to the chief of those concerned in the iron mines, but they seem careless, having never had a meeting since thy departure; their answer is that they have not yet found any considerable vein.

Governor Hamilton comes and stays with us as there is occasion, but seldom otherwise; his free temper puts him to a considerable charge, so that I have been forced to supply him very considerably, not having had one forfeiture of any kind, but a late one of Butterworth's vessel, and a chest of goods: the first apprized at £100 the whole, the other not yet, but have received nothing though the money be paid into the court: it is in such bad hands we expect no justice that can be withheld. The seizure was made at New Castle; among the goods were some East Indian, which they parted from the rest and brought to a particular trial before Quary's arrival: grounding the libel on the 12 Car. II., which divides the forfeiture into two shares only, one to the King, the other the informer, without any part to the Governor. I appeared at the court and opposed it: upon which they deferred their decree till I could have the opinion of the lawyers of New York; accordingly, W. Nicholls and J.

Emmot's[1] were procured, which was that the East India goods could be tried here by no Act of Parliament; but that if they were, they should upon forfeiture be divided into thirds as others; yet I expect no favor; that opinion, though obtained at their own instance, being employed, as I am informed, for Col. Quary being at last court himself, I did not appear.

As to fines — I have promoted and pressed their levy in this county to my utmost, and got warrants signed for all that the clerk could make out estreats for, but those for unlicensed ale-houses, being the most considerable, the corporation, as I have said before, claimed by their charter. The tonnage money is dropped, as I have also mentioned before, by a direct repeal of that law, yet we proceeded to take it till we were sharply threatened to be sued for it. The fines for the lower counties I dare not meddle with as things stand; the sheriffs in the other two counties are so remiss, that scarce anything can be drove forward; and the want of the approbation ties the Governor's hands from all acts that seem to carry any severity, and as such may be resented; for David Lloyd has affirmed that Governor Hamilton is no more than a conservator of the peace, and no governor till approved: in which he seems unhappily to be of the attorney-general's opinion there; but this discourse was uttered long before the opinion was obtained, which when arrived by J. Sotcher, it struck the Governor with the greatest surprise, and he seemed extremely concerned upon it: since which I have not seen him, for he left us the next day after the ship's arrival. He is generally beloved by the indifferent[2] as Andrew Hamilton, but as Governor Hamilton opposed by the obstinate party.

I hope we shall have all parts of the province re-surveyed before the time expires, &c.; also the best part of New Castle County: but for the other two, I cannot promise, though they shall not be quite neglected. Our discouragement is, that it must be mostly at thy charge, and what overplus is found, they are generally of opinion it is theirs, paying the rent of it.

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[1] [James Emott, a lawyer of New York, retired in 1690 to East Jersey. For some reference to him, see *Index to "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York."* — EDITOR.]

[2] That is, by the moderate party. — L.

Of the improvements of Pennsbury I can give no particular account, never finding time to go thither, but when other urgent business called me that way — only in the latter part of my illness I went to endeavor a recovery, though mostly in vain. John was exceedingly industrious before he went, and afterward Hugh was no ill successor, but he fell sick, and also Charles, who has lately gone off, his time having expired.

As to characters — that of J. Gr. continues the same still, and has hurt that court. J. Moore needs none, and D. Lloyd seems to have the same heart, and the same face, of whom, with A. M., I have spoke before. Joshua Carpenter is still a resolute ill-wisher, but can do nothing; harmless in the main, but rude to a scandal. Griffith Jones regular; N. W. not unquiet, but unworthy in presenting David Lloyd to be chosen. As for the rest of the church party, they are easily guessed, but A. Paxton and some others, new enemies.

I have now run over all the heads in thy first, in which have answered several in thy others; the rest I shall now proceed to.

I wish thou hadst been pleased in some of thy letters by the Experiment to have been more particular about my packets. I took all the pains I possibly could in them, but I know not yet what is judged right, or what amiss. As to Charles Read,[1] I gave no expectation in mine, per John, that he would touch with it any more, unless judicially called to it, which we cannot do, it being a thing not relating to the peace, nor the Crown within our cognizance, unless he would do it voluntarily — I mean make oath — which he then positively refused, though much courted, and some have applied to him again, but can get no other answer.

Our unhappiness is, that the attestation of a Friend is in very few things serviceable; nor is there much of these things within their knowledge; 'tis the oath of a churchman must do, if any, of whom some being enemies and others more indifferent, the first cannot be expected, and the latter, from the stories commonly spread, fully expect a change, and therefore will appear in nothing that may render them obnoxious to the next, which they confidently believe must be of their own party: a remarkable instance of which I lately had, in endeavoring for some

[1] As one of the appraisers of Lumbey's goods. — L.

depositions, and which is as follows, and mentioned in my former letters.

Governor Hamilton, upon proclaiming the war, exhorted the people, publicly met on that occasion, to list themselves under some captain and other officers for their own defence and security, as he should forthwith give commissions to: using all necessary arguments to induce them to it; and accordingly he soon after granted one to George Lowther, mentioned in some of my former, (with other commissions to his two subalterns, to a lieutenant and an ensign,) to be captain of a company in Philadelphia.

Upon this the drums beat through the town for such to meet as were that way inclined. The captain, upon promises made him, expecting a large appearance, but when coming to the field he found himself much disappointed; those that listed being of a meaner sort than those he expected: though from the discourse he had heard, and endeavors he understood were used, he feared something of the kind. He treated them all, however, very civilly, and encouraged them to meet again, marching them through the town.

Upon this disappointment, he applied himself again to make an interest—for he was very hearty in it—and to have it mended the next time, but found the most ignorant generally persuaded that if they listed they must be forced to march towards Canada; and the others generally backward, giving this when forced to it for their reason: that for them to form themselves into a militia now would be the readiest method to secure the Quakers government, (the want of one being the greatest objection against it,) while they (the Quakers) would not lend a hand to it, but laughed at them for their labor. J. Moore also, and Jasper Yeates took an opportunity one evening to send for the captain himself, and used all possible argument such as the latter I have mentioned, especially to dehort him from the undertaking. He mustered however a second time, which was the last, finding the opposition too great to struggle with; persons being daily employed, in private, to divert the inclinations of those who had shown a forwardness that way.

Of this there might considerable advantages have been made

by the government against those of that party, who had shown themselves basely against it, discouraging it; but that being in the hands of Friends, whose professions is directly opposite, they were tied up, and could noways appear; besides that, many were moved at the drums, &c. Immediately after I was taken sick and kept unfit for public business near three months in all; but since my recovery I have endeavored to get depositions of the said opposition, but find it so impracticable, that even the captain himself cannot be induced to move in it, though then highly incensed, nor will give any thing under his hand, nor upon oath, I suppose only for the reasons aforesaid. I shall still continue my endeavors to prevail on him, having some interest with him: but cannot appear much, or publicly in it myself; because, considering my station, it would be a reflection on the generosity of government. . . . . I wrote to thee on the 23d 8th-mo., by Milford, also on y^e^ 18 ditto, designed by Paxon, but gone otherwise by Maryland; of what progress made towards the Assembly, to which refer for what passed before that time, since on the 16th ult. all the representatives of the province came to town, and seven from the lower counties; who all duly elected, but sent not their whole number. The said seven being, Richard Hallowell, Jasper Yeates, Evan Jones, Thomas Sharp, T. Foster, John Hill, and Js. Booth; having come from New Castle, that day they waited on the Governor all together, before taking any refreshment, and told him that in pursuance of his writs, and to show themselves noways refractory in government, they were come to attend him, but conceived notwithstanding that it would be impossible to form an assembly at this juncture, with those of the province, they being chosen by charter, but the others by writ, which would prove inconsistent. The Governor seemed surprised at it, and gave good reasons to the contrary, which they nevertheless could scarce admit; but went, however, at the Governor's desire, to meet the others of the province, that they might all in one body wait on the Governor, when notice was given them that he and the council were ready, which being for some time delayed by reason of consultations held, the lower-county members withdrew to refresh themselves, and being then all sent to, the upper came without them. Next

day was spent in debates whether they could join or not, which proving difficult, they concluded at length, in the evening, on this message to the Governor, which they sent by J. Growdon, David Lloyd, Jasper Yeates, and Robert French, who being chosen for New Castle had also come up that day, but not with the first, to acquaint the Governor that they could by no means see their way clear to proceed to business, as they were then met: yet to show themselves good subjects of the Crown, and friends of the country, &c., if the Governor had anything of great moment to propose, that required their immediate service, they would not suffer it to be neglected, but strain a point rather, and fall on some way to proceed. The Governor upon this delivered them a letter from Lord Cornbury, desiring the £350 allotted to be paid by this province might be sent by March next: and then laid before them the naked and defenceless state of the government, which would require an immediate provision. These two subjects could not but be allowed to be of great moment, and therefore much perplexed them all next day; for, notwithstanding their pretences, they were resolved, in my opinion, to do nothing, as appeared in the evening, when all meeting the Governor, they told him positively that they could not agree by any means to join in legislation; upon which the Governor replied, he must then take it to be their opinion that the heads he had proposed were of no moment; this they would not allow, but made excuses and such poor shifts as they could upon such a blunder. They were then pressed to declare where the obstruction lay, and it appeared chiefly in the lower members: after which they were dismissed for that evening — for being as yet no assembly, they could not adjourn. Next morning, questions requiring positive answers under their hands, were sent to them, to know, first, whether the representatives of the province were willing to join with those of the lower counties, on the footing they were now respectively chosen. The second, the same to the lower counties, distinct. The third, what method those that refused would propose to come to legislation. The first was answered by the upper ambiguously, by a trick of David Lloyd's, in whose hand it was wrote, and who seemed

with his father-in-law[1] to be of a party with the lower, hindering all he could the said answer to be explained by the other

[1] David Lloyd, whose name occurs so frequently in the early history of Pennsylvania, was a Welshman by birth, and it is probable came over to this country in 1685, for he received the commission of attorney-general in the beginning of the next year. In 1690 we find him included in Queen Mary's proclamation, with many noblemen and gentlemen, among whom was also William Penn, as supposed conspirators at the time King William was in Ireland. D. Lloyd had been a captain in the Republican army, and was strongly attached to those principles, but had joined himself to the religious society of Friends previously to his coming. His opposition to the Proprietor appears to have commenced about the time of William Penn's second return to England, and had its rise in resentment; it was violent and carried to the most unjustifiable length, as may be fully seen in these letters. As speaker of the assembly, he appears to have completely possessed the art of ingratiating himself with the members, and swaying the decision of the House almost as he pleased, "having," as James Logan expresses it, "such a faculty of leading them out of their depth, and causing his accomplices in the House to drown all others with their noise." He seems to have been the constant antagonist of all who were in the respect or confidence of William Penn, and to have continued this opposition during the Proprietor's life, and when afterwards he exerted himself to thwart the ambitious designs of Sir William Keith, it was probably because he was his rival in popular favor.

Sir William, in expectation of removal from the government, had anticipated for himself the place of speaker of the assembly, and with that view, in the election of 1726 had caused himself to be put up both for Philadelphia County and also for New Castle, that he might have a seat in each house. The province and territories having at that time a separate assembly, "at New Castle he missed it, but was elected for Philadelphia County by the help of his party, who were called Keithians — a name of reproach in Pennsylvania, where the followers of George Keith had before been so called. On the day that the assembly met to choose their speaker, Sir William rode into town attended by a cavalcade of eighty horse, under the noise of many guns firing. Yet he was not so much as named for speaker, for David Lloyd, who now expresses a great regard for Col. Gordon, (then governor,) and an equal resentment against Sir William, carried it by every vote but three. He had many partisans in the House, but finding themselves in a minority, they did not oppose David Lloyd." Some years after this we find him in a kind and friendly disposition of mind, assisting James Logan in ascertaining the proprietary title to the lower counties, and it is soothing to observe the character of men who have, like him, hitherto been swayed by prejudice or passion, that when the evening of life advances, the storms which have agitated them subside, and the soul, like the sun of the natural world emerging from the

ten members of the province, who were unanimous for proceeding immediately, as then chosen.

The lower members returned a positive refusal in their answer to both second and third, a copy of which, because something particular, is enclosed.

The members of the province, after a dismission of them all till he should see further occasion to call them, put in their request to have their number augmented, in pursuance of the charter, under their hand and seals, from which they could by no means be diverted, but desired they might have nine members in all, for each of Chester and Bucks, the said charter allowing Philadelphia to choose two from the city when incorporated, which was received, because it could not be refused, and so all turned to their respective homes without further proceeding.

I took minutes both by myself and others, as full and exact as possible, which being very long, I cannot easily get reviewed

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clouds which have obscured it, illuminates the horizon with its parting beam, and the day closes in serenity and peace.

David Lloyd married, after he came to Pennsylvania, Grace Growdon, the daughter of Joseph Growdon, of Bucks County, a dignified woman, of superior understanding, and great worth of character; they had but one child, a son, who died at an early age by a most distressing occurrence. David Lloyd lived for about twenty years at Chester, where he built himself a handsome house on the banks of the Delaware, now owned by Commodore Porter, his first dwelling-house being destroyed by fire; here he lived in a style of hospitality and comfort, and his widow continued to inhabit it many years after his decease. Their remains are interred in the burial ground of Friends at Chester, where a small stone designates their graves. At the time of his death he was chief justice of Pennsylvania.

Such is the contrariety of human character that undivided praise or blame cannot justly be bestowed perhaps on any, nor can his intrigues against William Penn, and his practices to perplex the government, ever find excuse. Proud appears to be afraid to touch upon his character, but says that his political talents seem to have been rather to divide than to unite: a policy that may suit the crafty politician, but must ever be disclaimed by the Christian statesman.

He was accounted an able lawyer, and though in this capacity he had completely the art "to perplex and dash maturest counsels, and to make the worst appear the better reason," yet he was believed to be an upright judge, and in private life he was acknowledged to be worthy, a good husband, a kind neighbor, and a steady friend. He died in 1731. — L.

and copied, otherwise should send them; but I need not, I suppose, be in haste to send, this summary, being given if thou intend in any short time to visit us: which, let things go how they will, is much wanted.

I can say no more in relation to Col. Quary's discourses than is in my affidavit, having rallied my memory for that to my utmost, nor could I have given that itself had I not have been called in once, accidentally, to answer a question: whether I ever knew any affidavits sent by thee to England against him. Your discourses were generally private, and the whole made a great secret, so far that I never knew T. Wenham wrote to till now informed by thy letter, or that J. G. was thy messenger, till since or about the time of thy departure. I would gladly do all in my power, but a deposition is a tender thing.

I have already spoke of the Lewes pirates bonds, &c., but think it noways advisable or safe that thou should make thyself debtor before it is received, for there are considerable charges to be deducted for bringing them up. It shall be prest, but matters depending on our courts move exceeding slowly; there are such plots laid and endeavors used to perplex and confuse them, and by any means to prevent their acting: the King's death as the first pretence, and the corporation the next occasion. E. Shippen is their mayor again, but J. Moore protests against him as not elected according to the charter, though their chief advocate before; upon the design I have mentioned, and also to dismount J. Guest and T. Finney, the first especially, both now so disgusted that they care not to act unless in emergencies, for they appear true to the government, still the latter sincerely, the other thou knows.

. . . . . .

Evans the pirate sold the house and lot mortgages to D Powell, Sr. . . . .

We have granted Robert Ashton 300 and odd acres, being the whole of that vacant land, he making affidavit that thou promised it to him, but have bond payable if thou refuse it, and to have up the bond is what he requests.

Pray inform what must be done about the £50 lent him, £10 delivered by me and £40 by J. Farmer by thy order. . . . .

Lord Cornbury, I perceive, from whom fair words are common, is a courtier, few of them I know are sincere, but he has a good stock of the air of it. D. Campbell died on his journey from home, and Secretary Clarkson with his wife, soon after being almost the first taken in the New York sickness. That place for above five weeks has been exceedingly healthy.

George Fox in his will, they say, left this meeting his lot in the city for a meeting and school-house, &c., and sixteen acres of land, also in the city, as he thought, for a pasture for Friends' horses, as T. Lowther has wrote to the said meeting, who thereupon have applied to us for it. We answered that what lots or liberty land belonged to his purchase of 1250 acres we were ready to grant as conveniently as after so long a tract of time they could be had, but Friends requesting that something else might be granted in compensation, to answer as well as reasonably could be the end of the grant; it is referred to thee, and I suppose application will be made for it by some there.

If thou send any new commissions by thy son, I must request they may be authentic and full, for such as have been formerly, will do no longer, even ours of property being raked into, though allowed to be much the best of any that has been yet issued. A copy of it came by J. S., if I mistake not. I wish, with some of present judgment here, the commissioners could be erected into a court of property, which would much facilitate.

There are several German purchasers who claim lots in the city, and liberty land not only for their purchases of B. Hurley thy agent, but from thy own promises also, they allege, when at Crevett and other parts of Germany, as I remember, about the year 1687. I entreat thee to think of some way how they may be answered. . . . .

My mother's misfortune[1] is my affliction, and not my crime; what most troubles me in it, is my ingenious little brother, who I fear is ruined.

. . . . . .

[1] This was an unfortunate second marriage. She afterwards came over to this country, and was affectionately received and provided for by her son: he also procured the education of his brother, who took his degrees at Leyden, and became a celebrated physician at Bris-

I have now, I think, fully answered not only all thy recited letters, but all the parts of them with accounts of what else is necessary, my prolixity in which, had it any other subject than thy chief concerns in these parts, would meet no pardon; but let me intreat thee to consider how great the charge thou hast been pleased to intrust to me is in many particulars, and how much every small matter must take up of my time, which is wholly employed in thy service, without any abstraction of thought, which I could not always say, or the least regard to my own interest hitherto, for which this last year, much for the sake of the government has been an anxious one; but I am now going out to table.

I know nothing I have failed in, unless thou expected of all an answer to the government to Col. Quary's articles, but I have told my case already; 'tis my trouble I have not been able to answer it as yet, but no opportunity shall be slipped, that may help their procurement effectual and the forwarding. But the whole weight of the ministerial part of the government must lie wholly on me, while it affords scarce anything to obtain assistance, and no other will put a hand to it, though in conscience I think obliged to it. . . . .

Thy friends to whom the tea was sent, with all sense of gratitude, and in true love, desire to be remembered to thee, among whom be pleased to accept my hearty thanks. Ed. Shippen says he would willingly write, but can find no agreeable subject.

J. L.

James Logan to William Tonge.

Philadelphia, 12*th* 10*th-mo.*, 1702.

Friend Wm. Tonge: — Our meetings are so uncertain, and when we meet our discourses so ineffectual, that I must take to this method to inform thee of my mind. These levies for the Governor's aid have been so unaccountably and scandalously neglected in the collection, that I shall think myself obliged to throw up any account of them to the country, with a remon-

tol in England, and was a man of considerable learning and attainments. — L.

strance that may put them upon inquiry into the causes of these shameful defects, and animadvert as they shall see occasion, that I may at length be cleared of the whole, and eased of the perplexity. In the first place, however, I must request a full and exact account of all thou hast received, and leave us not for the proof of thy account to go wherever thou hast been, inquire whether they have paid thee; this will throw no less a reflection on thyself than it will give us trouble, for one of these causes must be alleged and will be the instruction of all that understanding it, viz., either thou hast kept no accounts or we cannot trust them. I entreat thee, therefore, to be exact in every particular: giving thyself at the same time credit by my receipts, or others to whom thou hast paid by my order. Give also a full account of all the bills thou hast received of what kind soever. This I must request with all possible expedition, for these dilatory methods are not to be tolerated in business. I must produce exact accounts, and except the materials be first produced to me I cannot make them. I shall not add till our meeting, which if thou please shall be at Anderson's, 3d day next, at five; against which time pray let no excuse obstruct thy having those accounts ready. I am thy real friend,

J. L.

William Penn to Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, G. Owen, and James Logan.[1]

London, 10*th* 11*th-mo.*, 1702.

Dear Friends:—My sincere love in truth salutes you all. I hope my letters by J. Sotcher are come to hand (with others by way of York and Maryland) since the messenger just arrived tells me he is so: which was glad tidings to me, the present danger upon the seas considered; for since the favorable influences upon our sea-faring concerns that have attended this nation from the commencement of the war to the return of our fleet from Vigo, (after the battle at Cales,) nothing but spoil and havoc upon our ships have followed. We have lost the best

[1] [This letter is from the Justice MSS. — Editor.]

part of two hundred sail of merchant ships, and some richly laden from Russia, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other parts, among whom the Cantico and Mary from your river are two, to my great disappointment and strait, so that I must call upon you to help me all you can with a supply, and in order to do it, that those Friends and inhabitants that subscribed to my assistance will pay in with speed what remains: having at present stemmed the tide they feared and their enemy hoped would have overwhelmed long ere this. I hope by this New York packet boat to send the Queen's approbation of Col. Hamilton for a year, to commence from the arrival of it: which gives me room to work the rest one way or other to our common security and benefit. Your estimate turned into money, and well returned, would comfort my oppressed spirit, and give me wings to fly over the deep, with the Lord's protection, to you again: where I can truly say my heart longs to be; that which gives this place the preference and excellency above our poor wilderness, being not the least motive to my choice. For your solitude and beginning of the world there, is more simple and retired, and so esteemed by me, than the crowds of opulency and curiosity which fill these parts. My son you had had long ago, but for the report of the sickliness of the province and neighborhood; but now his poor wife is within six weeks of her time, so that the Messenger returns without him, unless something stop her till my daughter is up again, and I doubt not his hastening to you, for he seems inclinable to it; and if he should not I would dispatch myself without delay. In the meantime I shall say somewhat to you about property matters:

1*st*. I desire that what land is, or is to be taken up for my son, John, or his grandfather, be so, and patented forthwith.

2*d*. That my manors be returned into my secretaries Proprietary Office with exact draughts and plans.

3*d*. That you hear patiently W. Rakestraw's whole complaints —I have in two letters. I know his temper and would make him allowances for it. I shall send his letters, and what in reason may be done for him, let it be done: only, I will never part with the inheritance of the land he lived in, taken up most

injuriously within the city bounds; but still be as bearing as you can with hasty and fretful tempers.

I have also a mighty complaint from New Castle County, made by one Brewster, whose letter I also send that he may be heard and right done, for I will not have a double commission, one there and another here: and therefore shall refer all complaints to your examination, and to hear your reasons of acting, before I will do anything therein, be it who or what it will.

For my cousin Ashton, charity begins at home, and though I would oblige him, yet I will never part with four or five hundred acres of land, that is worth half as many thousand, to go but for five hundred acres of his and this family's pretensions. I love him, and desire your love and assistance in it you can, but with regard to me in the first place. If I had paid my debts I should be very liberal, but as the case stands I have been so to a fault.

Pray let the widow Bathurst, or assignee, have the land laid out according to regulations and customs, which her honest husband bought of me, when any one authorized come to you for it.

22d of 11th-mo., 1702.

Just now is my packet by the messenger come to hand, but 'tis impossible to take any notice of it, because one came to advise me to-day, that the New York packet would be sent to-night to Spithead, by which this is intended to be sent; but R. James purposes to sail in three weeks at farthest, by whom I hope to be more particular as to government, at least.

I am glad to learn by J. Logan that the land is like to be re-surveyed within the time. I desire the utmost care therein. I am debtor to Grif. Owen for his letter, and intend him a response by the next opportunity to our own country. The laws lie before the Lords in order to the Queen's approbation. Some will with difficulty pass; to-morrow I shall have the approbation of Col. Hamilton to go by this opportunity, which is a substantial disappointment of your enemies, and the confusion of the greatest of villains, (I think,) Col. Q., whom God will make, I believe, in this world for his lies, falsehood, and supreme knavery. I shall add no more now, but my dear love to you and yours, and all

my true friends and truth's. May love, and fear, and patience dwell with you to the end. Amen.

Your very affectionate friend,

Wm. Penn.

No more land for the society to be surveyed than the 40,000 acres, unless it be in lieu of that in the Manors, which they or I had not writ to you for them as I have done, a copy of which follows. For I will not allow any to be taken up in any of them, till we jointly send about. W. P.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 20*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1702.

There is a mighty complaint of a secret convoy trade, by an understanding with Rhode Island, illustrated by Col. Quary after his usual manner, swelling it to a mighty mountain; the particulars I have not, but because all must be known to thee and government that has any truth or fact in it, be prepared per next to advertise me. 'Tis like his swish-swash bounces about the commissions I gave T. Fairman and J. Wood, that he thought to shake all by, which after all proves just, and is approved by that very great man of the law they hoped would have reported against me; why do you not run him for it and humble him? But I hope you will find a more learned and reasonable judge, in a while in that post. Keep clear of frauds, and punish them to their merit: and all do well; but as some offences of that nature—though much less than what are committed by other colonies, more immediately under the Queen's government and cognizance—are the strength of our common enemies: so do you watch carefully that such faults be either prevented or effectually punished, and we shall do well enough.

I have discourst some of our chiefest ministers upon a composition in which the ratification of our constitution and laws is the first article; what it will issue in I cannot yet give account.

I was yesterday to visit the widow Gwom, who employs Capt. Hans as her factor in the fur trade. She says she sends him £1000 worth of goods at a time, and that he is very just to her,

and confesses he makes good returns, and that she makes more than cent[1] sterling per cent. by them; especially of bear-skins, selling them for above 20 cent sterling per skin. How happy should I be, if the people did but, in lieu of other maintenance, confine the Indian trade to me, which were nothing out of their pockets. Though it were but for seven, or eleven years more would still be better, I should be able by such returns to clear my incumbrances. Pray lay this before the government, and a few of the best to be trusted, if this could be obtained, for tobaccos will not do, since these twenty-five hogsheads will hardly clear so many pounds.

I must press thee to lay before the commissioners, the preservation of my trees and cedar swamp, and black walnut, both of Schuylkill and Delaware: of which great havoc and spoil have been, and I fear is still but too much made.

Thou hast said nothing about T. Bifeld's jury which Quary said he ordered to be sworn, and Bifeld denied to the Lords of Trade and Plantations to Quary's face. He also said, the name of God was not used in our attestations. An authentic account of that whole proceeding, and J. Moore's most false allegations of his letter of attorney for a sworn jury, and an appeal else for England, with an account of that trial, as also the trials lately about false trade in our civil courts [obliterated] would be of signal service [obliterated] they imagine you will not right the Queen there, or you might put the nose of an Admiralty judge out of joint, [obliterated.] I am forced to break off here, time calling me away, that none can refuse, yet if more fall in will improve this to several particularities. However, take notice:

1st. I will have no lands in the manors laid out to the company, for my letter to the commissioners of property for them was on that condition.

2d. Press to get the assembly to limit the fur trade [obliterated] to my assignees or order, in order to make returns instead of any levy, excise, or tax for my account, if possible.

3d. Get some allowance from the inhabitants for Gov. Hamilton, now he is approved of by the Queen, till his year is out, at least for the time he has been and is governor.

[1] [So in the original. — EDITOR.]

[1] The Lords of Trade have promised me to receive no complaints without the parties sending them give them to the parties they are sent against upon the spot, for their answers, in the nature of bill and answer in chancery: that nobody may be murdered in the dark: a great reformation and relief, and for which American governments owe me their good will.

The money will be forthwith, by the Queen's proclamation, reduced to sterling, or 25lb per cent. at most, of which make the best use. The lawyers say the Queen can do it here; therefore, here will add no more, but that I am taken up with our European family and American Pennsylvania settlements, in which I hope to make something of the latter. I wish John had upon his town lot a small mansion built for 100lb or 150lb; it would let, and the rest let out profitably, saving a garden platte and fruit-trees. We are through mercy well, send our love to

[1] These Lords appear to have been held in the same kind of dread by the people of the Colonies that Sancho expressed for the holy Brotherhood. In the memoirs of John Evelyn, Esq., there is a curious account of the first institution of the Board of Trade. They held their first meeting 26th May, 1671, and were to advise and counsel his Majesty to the best of their abilities, for the well governing his foreign plantations, &c.; the form of their oath little differing from that given to the Privy Council. The subject that first occupied their attention subsequent events have rendered very remarkable. I shall give it in the author's own words: "The first thing we did was to settle the form of a circular letter to the governors of all his Majesty's plantations and territories in the West Indies and islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government; but what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty; rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them: and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; his Majesty therefore commended this affair more expressly. We therefore thought fit in the first place to acquaint ourselves as well as we could, of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence; and to be informed of their present posture and condition; some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understand the peevish and touchy humor of that colony, were utterly against." There are several similar articles in the work. — L.

all our friends of all sorts, particularly the best affected: and our own immediate dependants and family. I am thy assured friend,

WM. PENN.

P. S.—I desire thee by the Messenger to send me a pipe, or two hogsheads of the best Madeira wine and one of St. George, for that barrel I had of Ed. Shippen has excelled here. I hope you will have one[1] out shortly, that will be a safer guide and surer footing in law than ever yet was with you, an able-grounded lawyer, and a good-tempered, honest, sober gentleman; this to thyself.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

24th 12th-mo., 1702.

JAMES LOGAN—LOVED FRIEND:—I have thy packet by the Messenger, that per the Cantico, the Mary being gone for France, to my great disappointment and straights; nor indeed would they have amounted to the value thou mentionest, they only getting or making a saving voyage, that get well upon English goods, that can spare to lose upon returns of tobacco, and yet gain upon the whole: for our tobacco is in poor request, especially now the Czar has broke his word with our merchants; and for Logwood, Cales, and Vigo have so much sunk the value of it, that the Lady Bellamont has lost £9 out of £15 that it cost her per ton. That by the first ships sold pretty well—logwood I mean. I observe thy hint about my tobaccos to Hamburg. I shall pry into it per first opportunity, for that would be very unfair, if not dishonest and fraudulent: but hope it is a mistake. Thou must change thy method of returns; I am satisfied that of flour and bread and beer to Barbadoes, Virginia, Antigo, Nevis, Jamaica, &c., rather than Barbadoes, and S. V. says that way also, would outdo tobacco. In the meantime send me all the silver thou canst get anywhere, or of anything, as plate, &c., rather than leave me destitute; for such expenses as I am put to—and small presents too—cannot, with my family, be supported without supplies, and speedy ones too. I never

[1] Mompesson.—L.

was so low and so reduced: for Ireland, my old principal vert, has hardly any money; England severe to her, no trade but hither, and at England's mercy for prices, saving butter and meat to Flanders and the West Indies, that we must go and eat out half our rents, or we cannot enjoy them; and I have great interest, as well as my son's settlement, to deduct with three or four per sterling pounds tax here, and twenty to twenty-six per cent. for exchange from Ireland to England to answer. I therefore earnestly urge supplies, and by the best methods and least hazardous. I know thy ability, doubt not thy integrity; I desire thy application and health, and above all thy growth in the feeling of the power of truth: for that fits and helps us above all other things, even in business of this world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform. I am sorry to find by thine, thou art so much oppressed in thy station, and wish I could make it lighter. If my son (whose delay was from your sickness and New York's,[1] aggravated here, and just now his wife's being within six weeks of her time) will apply himself to business, he may, by the authority of his relations and a little pains, render thy post easier to thee. I know the baseness of the temper of too many of the people thou hast to do with, which calls for judgment and great temper, with some authority; but I hoped that when gone Ed. Shippen and Thomas Story would have been helpful, and Isaac Norris and Samuel Carpenter[2] now and then as volunteers. If

[1] I do not know that there was an epidemic in Philadelphia this year except the small-pox; that which raged in New York is thus mentioned in a letter from Isaac Norris 8th 9th-mo., 1702: "You have heard I suppose of the sickness in New York; it was the same as here three years since; some hundreds died and many left the town for several weeks, so as to those that went and came back, (from Boston,) the place seemed almost desolate."—L.

[2] Samuel Carpenter is thus mentioned in a letter of his friend, Isaac Norris, dated 1705: "This honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labors and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and resolved (I think prudently) to wind up and clear his incumbrances; he has sold some good pennyworths, as his dwelling-house by David Lloyd's and the Coffee House, likewise the scales (the house south-east corner of Walnut and Front Streets); is out of trade; lives at his plantation, and intends to sell off more." His plantation was

T. Fairman were of credit with the people, he might help thee: he has capacity, but not what he thinks. I must refer the management of him to thee. He most basely injured me when here by his suggestions to the purchasers as he confessed at parting, though he denied it on board the Canterbury, and in righteousness owes me reparation, which he has promised me, and I have no scruple of conscience that it be made me at their cost, that made him their tool for my abuse and hardship. I send a letter at the company's request, about their land, and except half of Gilbert's, I think they will submit for the rest — and that is under consideration too. T. F.'s brother's wife is a little sharp upon him to me, and waits for an afternoon at her house upon that subject. I am sorry all his papers will be ineffectual, for they are gone to France, for though a correspondence is not yet closed, I hear nothing of my packet; the commander is at Dinant, has writ for £5 to me; it came three days ago to hand, but have yet made him no answer: I think I must fling good after bad. No Cartel settled yet. The newspapers I think to send, and some poems and pamphlets, will acquaint thee with the state of things both at home and abroad, so shall not load my letter with news. Only Lord Cornbury at council had the better of Atwood,[1] who has printed his case and left one at my lodgings; and that there will be no bill this year against us; and I may add that the next year in Europe is like to be the greatest that has been these hundred years for action.

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near, or at Bristol, on the Delaware, where he had made great improvements, as a grist-mill, saw-mills, &c., of which I have a letter giving a particular account. He has numerous descendants of his name settled near Salem, in West Jersey. His son married one of the daughters of Samuel Preston, who was a woman of fine understanding and great piety. — L.

[1] [William Atwood succeeded Abram de Peyster as Chief Justice of New York, and arrived about August, 1701. Lord Cornbury afterwards suspended him from his offices of chief justice, inspector of the vice-admiralty, and member of the council. His suspension as a councillor was, by an order of the Queen in council, 2d January, 1702–3, changed into a removal. Atwood's "answer to Lord Cornbury's reasons" for suspending him are printed at length, and reflect severely upon his lordship. This is probably the publication of the "case" to which Penn refers.—*IV. Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, 885, 1022, 1024. — EDITOR.]

I am sorry the foolish captain of the Cantico did not sink my packet as other ships formerly did that have been taken.

Pray mind to let me know by all opportunities Quary's conduct and carriage (and Moore's) among you; for the latter I shall turn him out of all with my commission, for a saucy ungrateful fellow: and shall write to Governor Hamilton about it, and if he refuse to surrender the records of his office of registry, that forthwith the Governor order the proper officers to seize and remove them by force; for I will henceforth make open head against those inveterate villains to me and my poor country. I hope to furnish you with a man of sense and law in a while, and so let the commissioners and the Governor know.

Pray let Rakestraw, Brewster, &c., have thy care to answer. Keep off appeals all thou canst, or particulars from vexing me here, and things will do well. I will refer all back to you again whoever complains, but if they apply to the Queen it may be much more troublesome, as the old Spaniard, of whom I have nothing from thee, as to my conduct and the trouble to issue this matter, and wish for the minutes and history of it well attested with what speed may be, and where I left it and the business pitch'd and pinch't.

I could wish the officers of the city of Philadelphia would be more careful not to strive nor strain points to make their charter more than it truly means, and so a burden to the county and the government; for if they take that course, I shall inquire into it, and put a period thereunto, as lawyers tell me here I may very easily do, and the government here would countenance the attempt. I, therefore, desire an accommodation may be found out to ease the controversy between town and county.

Wm. Hall, of Salem, writes to me for ampler power about my concerns there, which you have and can give him, of which I wrote to thee some time ago: pray mind it.

I have had two nameless letters from your parts, or Boston; the last was from Philadelphia, intimating a quarrel between Col. Quary's wife and Thomas Jones, master of the Society's ship, and that he is both able and willing, if secured his wages, viz. £70 or thereabouts; that he is gone to Boston and there might be treated with. I would have thee write, and get his

relations of that place to write, to Daniel Zachary to inquire after him, and secure him his wages on my account, to get the truth out of him. If Quary's knavery to the company were known, 't would blacken him here in his surveyorship, and render it easier for me to get him discarded; for if I live I will, and shall be able to do it.

This year the customs upon goods from Pennsylvania amount to £8,000, the year I arrived there £1,699, but to £1,500 at the most; a good argument for me and the poor country. It has a greater regard here, and made the care of an officer, as well as Virginia and Maryland, at the custom-house; New York not the half of it.

But, O that we had a fur-trade instead of a tobacco one, and that thou wouldst do all that is possible to master furs and skins for me, but bears more especially; thou sent me two or three chest of them: I could have sold them almost for what I would, 16sh., aye 20sh. a skin at this juncture; and thou promised me two if not three chests in thy last packet. I earnestly press thee upon this one point, as thou desirest to assist me in the readiest and surest way. I hope thou mindest my land, especially where the wood carrier and seller by Ed. Shippen's used to cut down my wood, to stop his further mischief, and that my purchase of W. Southby goes not to decay, for my eye, though not my heart is upon poor Fairmount,[1] unless the unworthiness of some spirits in the town drive me up to Pennsbury or Susquehannah for good and all. God will in his time rebuke their baseness. Also the 50,000 acres of land that belonged to Sir John, now to Sir Robert Ffagg,[2] that it be taken up as I ordered when there, and if that taken up by T. F. in Chester County and New Castle will answer it, pray let it; else I am content that the one half at least be taken up at this new discovery of T. Fairman's, if his swan do not prove a goose, [obliterated.] That business depending between W. Biddle and

[1] See the old map of Holme. It was in the manor of Springetsburg, in the Northern Liberties. I take it to be the place now called Lemon Hill, the seat of Henry Pratt, Esq. — L.

[2] [In Chester County, Pennsylvania, and still known as Fagg's manor. — EDITOR.]

me should come to some issue while I am here; and I wish Samuel Jenning's memory is not decayed, and that Gov. Hamilton does not lean too much that way; but my Cousin Markham can't forget the agreement that they, son and daughter, should have their lives in half of it, and then to revert to me; and that their half should be from end to end on their side the river, and that next Pennsbury to belong to me; try a fair issue on that side the water, and if can end it there, do: else I can best issue it while here myself, and I lay great weight upon it; note that Friends on your side forbade them buying it; 'twas out of rule attempted by her with our Indians, to treat with them for what we claimed, without leave. She was forbade by Col. Markham, then my deputy governor, so that she arbitrarily and clandestinely or surreptitiously — she, Sarah Biddle — obtained possession. That in James Harrison's[1] time, stock was put on it: pray mind it. I hope my son will contribute to it. . . . . [obliterated.] . . . . (The rest of the letter is wanting.)

William Penn to James Logan.

——— 1702.

[*Extracts from a decayed letter which appears to belong to this period.*]

Speaking of his son who was then preparing to embark for Pennsylvania, he says: Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding,[2] since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness, as in measure your poor country's. I propose

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[1] Father-in-law to Phineas Pemberton: they were settled near the Falls of Delaware, upon the first arrival of Wm. Penn. — L.

[2] William Penn, Jr., is thus characterized in a letter of Samuel Preston's to his friend, Jonathan Dickinson, in Jamaica: "Our young landlord, to say true, in my judgment, discovers himself his father's eldest son; his person, his sweetness of temper, and elegance of speech, are no small demonstrations thereof. But I wish him more of his zeal, and so leave the subject." Possibly the father's absence in Pennsylvania had caused the young gentleman's education to have been less guarded than it otherwise would have been. — L.

Governor Hamilton, S. Carpenter, I. Norris, Young Shippen, and your easiest and most sensible and civilized, for his conversation; and I hope Col. Markham, and Cousin Ashton, and the Fairmans may come in for a share; but the first chiefly. Watch him, out-wit him, and honestly overreach him, for his good; fishing, little journeys, (as to see the Indians,) &c., will divert him; and pray Friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly if not religiously. He will confide in thee. If S. Carpenter, R. Hill, and Is. Norris could gain his confidence, and honest and tender G. Owen, not the least likely, (for he feels and sees,) I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child than all other considerations. The Lord pity and save in his great love, I yet hope. I have writ to Governor Hamilton, which deliver, and inclosed the Queen's approbation, which if not upon the spot open and read, and send an express for him that he may feel life in his duty. I would also have Col. Markham have the registry and probate of wills, but let the records lie as they do, that you may see I dare reward that base man[1] according to his villany, and I will not have thee pay him one penny more, let what will be due, as attorney-general, which will be in the hands of another shortly, from hence, and in the meantime, if Moore flings up, constitute who you will. (I mean the Governor's council.) Give Judge Guest's letter as he deserves, 'tis kind and encouraging, for I hope you will in a while see cause more and more; one thing at a time, the carrier's pace is safest.

James Logan to William Penn.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 3*d* 1*st-mo.*, 1702–3.

[The first part of this letter, Mrs. Logan remarks, relates to Lumbey's papers, the answers to Quary's charges, minutes of council, &c. He then proceeds:]

We believe here that the business of the Lords for Trade, &c., especially relating to those charges, is long ago over. Thou

[1] David Lloyd. — L.

having removed the whole to another board, and that no answer from hence would be so effectual as thy personal appearance and defence there, and, therefore, that the cause will not suffer by this omission. However, I was resolved to pursue it, and faithfully discharge my part: in which I hope I shall be believed. An address to the Queen was thought would come too late, and be attended also with several inconveniences, as well as others. The motion was mine, as I wrote before, and the Governor much favored it, but we have not all the happiness to concur in what might make for our advantage. I mention not this, nor the preceding, through any self-complacency, but to acquit myself.

Governor Hamilton left us last, about the 20th of y^e^ 11th-month, and has since been seized — at Amboy, where his family has wintered — with a violent fever, which has held him some weeks, and for some days his life was despaired of, but by the last post, his son writes that Dr. Johnson assures them the worst is over, though he cannot perceive it by any recovery of strength.

In Sussex and Kent they have had a mortal distemper: more fatal, 'tis affirmed, than that of York last year, or of Philadelphia in 1699; it reigned most of the winter, but is now happily over. The small-pox has been favorable in all these parts: only in Bucks, where it has continued all winter, it has been more severe; the three Yardleys are all dead of it, with several others: but it is mostly going off. We have been clear of it these six months, and since the agues and fevers, which were epidemical, left us, we have been, and through mercy continue healthy.

I am this month forming an exact rent-roll for the city, which I hope in time will be complete and regular for every lot in the precinct. I measure every foot of it with my own hands, as I go along, and shall proceed to the province as regularly, if possible; but the scarcity of money and the waywardness of some people make things difficult; it cannot, however, be completed till all the re-surveys are settled, which is a work of inconceivable trouble and difficulty.

I hope in the province and county of New Castle nothing will slip us. The whole burden of that now lies on me, there being no surveyor-general. Bucks is in good forwardness, and hope

will be finished this summer; in this county we have two, between Chester and New Castle three surveyors, but doubt I must add another; but for the two lower counties I can promise nothing: neither surveyors nor chain-carriers will go thither. I have done all I can with one present surveyor there: but he is slack and cannot have chain-carriers. The business is everywhere troublesome, through the refractory humor of the people in refusing to assist, or show their lines, but there the most of any. The most suspicious tracts, however, I hope will be tried: but the greatest part will be, I doubt, neglected.

Philadelphia, of the province, is the most troublesome. T. Fairman has been ill or weak all the fall and winter, but is now coming abroad again: he meddles not with re-surveys.

Col. Quary carries it now, as formerly, with less distinction than at his arrival; he endeavors to make himself popular, and Col. Nicholson bolsters up his vanity by sending him expresses upon all occasions, which, with no small elevation, he vouchsafes to communicate to the expecting crowd at the Coffee House, or elsewhere, as it may best serve to aggrandize him. From him we had the more certain news of the action at Vigo,[1] with a list of the French ships destroyed there, which was received with a bonfire, &c., but since have had the mortification to hear by way of Portugal and Boston that most of the plate was unloaded out of the gallions, and carried away before our fleet entered that bay.

The Colonel embraces all opportunities of ingratiating himself with our friends as well as others, but will not find his account by it. Some few times I accidentally fell into young Dr. Cox's company, who carries himself here as a most singularly good-natured gentleman, and is of a polite education; upon his invitation I was lately drinking a glass with him at the White Hart, on a 7th-day evening, of which, Col. Quary hearing by J. Moore, who saw us there, came and joined himself to

[1] [In Galicia, Spain, surprised by the English and Dutch fleets, October 12, 1702, in which the Spanish flota was captured, and with it a considerable amount of specie. The Duke of Ormond distinguished himself, and the success of the assailants silenced, says Belsham, "the clamors occasioned by the previous miscarriage at Cadiz."— EDITOR.]

us, and after him, Moore also, without invitation. Quary was familiar and pleasant, with much smoothness: but I gave him as many close rubs as I could have opportunity, without rudeness, which makes him look rather more asquint than before. Thomas Story and myself, by the advice of some others, about two months ago waited on him, at his house, to consult about the trial of a captain of a vessel, who is impeached for murdering some of his men at sea, for which no law of ours provides; and therefore it was thought proper that he should be tried by 28 Henry VIII., appointing a commission to be issued under the broad seal directed to the admiral or judge, with other persons, to be nominated—as I remember—by the chancellor: on this statute, he told us, he concurred with us, as he must be tried: and would be very ready to serve the Queen and country in that, or any other thing where he was empowered, but at the same time must have that regard for himself as to act safely. If we would issue a commission of sufficient authority that would indemnify him, he would act readily, thinking it his duty: but while Col. Hamilton was not yet approved of, he conceived he could not be the man, and therefore must be excused. On this a council was called, but no method could be concluded on; some were of opinion he should be tried by the late Act and commission for trying of pirates; but either way we were found impotent, for on the one hand the judge of the Admiralty would not act, the governor not being approved, and on the other we have not an original commission to publish in the court, as that Act requires, only a copy from Maryland, which is not sufficient, there being no exemplification sent hither under the great seal from England, which is requisite, and which for the safety and ease of this government should by all means be procured. I send the minute of that day, and request thy answer to it; being of great importance, for a considerable voyage, I doubt, is wholly ruined by it.

There being several criminals in our prison here, some for murder, &c., Judge Guest, last provincial court, avoided bringing them to a trial, being unwilling to venture on such capital offences, without real jurors, and therefore proposed a special commission of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery

to try them, all by swearers, according to the law of England, which at length, after several objections and hesitations, was issued and accepted, for though he proposed he stood long off again, but care was taken by some here to prevent their acting. I send a copy of the record, a minute of council relating to it, and a letter of George Lowther, whom I have mentioned before, giving a more particular account of the whole, he being chiefly concerned for most of the prisoners. 'T was wrote to Gov. Hamilton, then very sick, but unknown to us, by a relation of R. French, recommending him to the governor as a fit person to succeed J. Wood, who is about to leave New Castle. He, Lowther, has lately been in the lower counties, where he is in favor, and has been instrumental in making them more regular. Sussex and Kent, especially the first, are as orderly as ever in their courts; New Castle not so well. There, most of the old justices are turned out of necessity, and the new ones, such as Jas. Coults, Rowlof de' Haes, Isaac Goodin, George Hogg, Charles Springer, are but raw. Robert French and Cantwell will not act, though the first is not ill-affected; the chief thing that disturbs those people in all the three counties, is our refusing to grant lands at the old rent, which chiefly induces them to wish themselves under the crown; our governor is rather more esteemed by the generality there, and I question whether any other would have been so easily owned.

This week I have been at Bucks court, the fourth time, to attend Thomas Revel's suit against Joseph Growdon, on behalf of J. Tatham, for that overplus land thou sold him, but we cannot bring it to a trial. Sometimes the court has on a sudden been adjourned to prevent it, and sometimes other difficulties raised; but now David Lloyd's tender conscience will not suffer him to plead in it, because, he must of necessity, if he do, own a fiction in the declaration, it being by ejectment, which prevails with that court, and therefore we must take some other frivolous method, as trespass, &c.[1] But David's conscience was tough enough last Philadelphia court to plead "*non est factum testatoris*" against James Claypoole's bond, which I put in suit, and has now hung there for five courts past, and will be quashed, I

[1] See page 222.

doubt, at last, for want of the "*factum;*" we sued at Francis Cook's own request, but David Lloyd soon taught him better things: both his and our intention was, at first, only that he should be indemnified, being but an administrator; but now the point is turned against us.

In the last monthly meeting but one of this place, a scandalous libel was brought against the commissioners, presented by Robert Heath, near Frankford, and introduced by some Friends, first appointed according to method to inspect it: calling us pretended Quakers, and inveighed sharply against Griffith Owen, who was not then there; the subject of the complaint was, that he could not have the lots due to him in right of Thomas Woolrich's purchase of $\frac{\text{acres}}{1000}$, and for things of that kind, threats of being sued, or compelled to a compliance, are grown familiar to us, so that we use the utmost caution to act nothing but what is strictly according to law; but many are exceeding troublesome, and I must say that their importunity for what they think their right, especially liberty land, or lots where there is none, or scarce any to be had, front lots especially, and the remembrance of the blame our predecessors have bore for their compliance in such cases, are as two stones that grind and crush us beyond patience or enduring; 'tis exceeding hard to be exposed, as of necessity we must often be, beyond the possibility of pleasing, perhaps on either side; but if on thine we are unsuccessful, I am sure we are unhappy.

In Heath's case, the paper was rejected by the meeting, and Griffith Owen required satisfaction for the abuses put upon us, but principally on himself, which in some measure he had from those that introduced the complainant: but his chief advantage was rather that Heath had been scurrilous in some papers he had given in to us before. However, we can find no such lots for him as he wants, nor for several others, and I doubt no liberty land for H. Child and Abdiah Taylor. After much clamor by Daniel Falkner and his brother we have granted B. Furley fifty acres in the liberties, in right of his purchase of 5,000, but he will apply we believe for the rest and the lots, which as yet we cannot grant him. I wish thou hadst been pleased to mention something of the Octoraroe settlement; they are proceeding to

settle there; we are securing there a tract of considerable extent for thee, &c.

Thomas Story has applied to the rest of us for about a thousand acres of land which thou wast pleased to grant him by a patent under the lesser seal in 1700, situate above Highlands,[1] but all that land is granted away to others long ago, there having been no survey made there, and no surveyor privy to it. We have referred it to thee, and request thy answer, as also about the other minutes sent by J. Sotcher. He also insists on a grant of the 10,000 acres to Jos. Pike, with a reservation of but one-fifth of royal mines fore-prized by the King in his charter, thou having granted all royalties away, he says, in the deed signed by thee jointly with Vincent, to the said Pike, for that tract, which also much wants thy answer, for Thomas and I have been high upon it. He first drew the rough draft of the grant, after which T. Grey copying, reserved but one-fifth in the engrossment, which I afterwards ordered to be altered in pursuance of thy orders to me, for I spoke to thee both in Thomas's hearing, and by thyself about it: whether T. Grey altered it before thou signed it, or after, I am wholly ignorant: but it was done, and I have been more hardly treated about it, than I think is fit to mention here.

The chief of the lands we have sold are in New Castle County and some part of Rockland thrown into Chester County by the late line. The prices, I believe, are not amiss, but the pay will not answer through the scarcity of money, which obliges one to throw up again.. Wheat at 4 and 4 and 6d., and can scarce find buyers.

[Then follow long details respecting trade and returns, and he adds:] I am involved in difficulties which cannot so well be judged of at a distance, and thy interest is a charge, more immediately an incumbent charge on me than any other, which still forces me to renew my wishes for thy presence again, for it would in many cases greatly befriend thee, nor can I be afraid of my master's eye. I know 'tis impossible now to give satis-

[1] The manor of Highlands was in Bucks County, considerably above Pennsbury on the Delaware; Vincent's tract was on the Schuylkill.—L.

faction, but a personal witness would excuse the failures because of their necessity.

I design next month for Conostogoe, God willing, to treat with the Indians there, and confirm them; for we have many flying reports about the attempts of the French to debauch all; and Harry has never here since he went to the Onondagoes last year, though he solemnly promised to return this way.

G. Keith,[1] on the 5th instant, had a public dispute with himself, according to his way, in Whitpain's great house: he declaimed a very little time, I think not an hour, and to less purpose; his business was to expose, &c., but his chief success that way was, 'tis thought, upon himself. He sent his challenges, as thou wilt find by a copy of one of them inclosed, to the persons mentioned to each one, but forgot as he said afterwards to sign them, till about 11 of the clock that day he was to appear he sent the original to be shown to them, under his hand, but being brought to Thomas Story he prevented its further journey. None appeared but Wm. Southby to answer a calumny, as I am informed, raised against him, and soon withdrew. Those called Keithians here, as John Hart, I. Wilson, Jno. McComb, &c., are his great opponents, and in short in this place his execution has been exceeding small.

[1] George Keith had been a minister in the Society of Friends, but upon some affront left, and afterwards vilified them all in his power: owing to parties of the times, he was too much encouraged at first, by some others; but afterwards became insignificant, and died dissatisfied with himself for the part he had acted. — L.

Note. — There is a passage in Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, published anno 1700, respecting George Keith and his accusation of the Society of Quakers, which strongly savors of the bishop's prejudices against them and their distinguished member, Wm. Penn. He says that George Keith received his education at Aberdeen, at the same time that he himself was a student there, and that he was a master of languages, especially the Oriental ones, philosophy and mathematics; and that after thirty years' membership with the Quakers, he was sent by the Society to Pennsylvania, (a colony set up by Penn, where they, the Quakers, are very numerous,) to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. Here he wrote a defence of them against the allegations of Cotton Mather, which was observed afterwards to be as good an answer to his own subsequent publications as could be desired. Soon after this meeting in Philadelphia mentioned in the above letter, he went to England, where still appearing as a Quaker, he endeavored to injure them all in his power, till sinking into insignificance, he reconciled himself to the Church and took holy orders; but, I believe, did not effect much of the good which the bishop anticipated "in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those, he calls, misled enthusiasts." — L.

I received an answer from Daniel Zachary with the inclosed certificate, under the prize officer's hand. He is now, 'tis thought, on his journey hither with his wife, in order to be laid in here of her second child, from whence, perhaps, it may be difficult to draw her away: a no small unhappiness, should it prove so, to the interest of Friends in that colony. I have laid at Isaac Norris's these three weeks past, who with his wife gives thee their tender love, and heartiest respects, with all thine, as also H. Hill, her husband, &c. Samuel Carpenter is upon a great project in Bucks, of building saw-mills, and making all other conveniences for shipping, which by their freight, 'tis hoped, will be the best returns, if sent abroad to Maryland to be loaded. They are talking of a ship to carry 7 or 800 hogsheads of tobacco, which at £12 or £14 per ton will make between two and three thousand pounds freight home, if loaded from Chesapeake, and may afterwards be worth £800 or £1,000 there, and need not cost here above £3,000, if built at the best hand, with materials from England, as cables, rigging, &c. If it go on I shall advise further.

I mention not Mr. William here because we expect to see him before this comes to hand. Many have been very apprehensive of a sickly summer because of the openness and warmth of the winter, and the small-pox hovering around us all the season, which is often observed to leave an infection; but this town was happily cleared of it before the fall came, and the sharpness of this month with us, and many north-westers of late, 'tis hoped will have better effects. In Staten Island and some other places about New York, there is a great mortality, but the city healthy.

I send a copy of thy commission to P. Parmiter, to show he was not made directly attorney for the crown. The first part of the minutes of council I have digested better in my own hand. There is coming about ten ton of logwood more by Puckle and the Experiment; they sail in about six weeks, also some tobacco, &c. J. Sotcher's wife has a fine girl, named Hannah, six weeks old. With all due respects and service to thyself and family, I am thy most faithful J. L.

The commissioners will write jointly, I suppose, per next opportunity. — L.

1703.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *1st 2d-mo.*, 1703.

I have writ at large six sheets if not seven, and sent by R. Mompesson, Esq., to which refer thee. I here inclose Randall Janney's bond for two of his best servants: one a carpenter, the other an husbandman, that the out-houses in part may be perfected within, and a moderate stable built for eight or ten horses, and a shelter for cattle or sheep near the barn,[1] as formerly, to which I refer to J. Sotcher. Yaff is also gone, in the room of one that can't go for weakness, and I have resolved after four years faithful service he shall be free. Yet I have left it to him to return, if he may, passage free (which he will more than deserve in any ship) in the Messenger. Nay, I leave it for him to return from Deal if he will. Thou art to allow R. Janney nothing for him, that goes into the £20 for the other two; also, he wants three of his complement, and must have paid as much had he not gone; besides, I have otherwise been kind to him. Yaff is an able planter and good husbandman, and promises fair, and Samuel has but one year more to serve, I think, by my note, if he has served well. I hope Randall carries a hat for Edward Shippen of a mayoral size: I ordered one for him

See if the town would be so kind to build me a pretty box like Ed. Shippen's, upon any of my lots in town or liberty land, or purchase Griffith Owen's, or T. Fairman's,[2] or any near healthy spot, as Wicaco or the like, for Pennsbury will hardly accommodate my son's family and mine, unless enlarged. Let what is there be kept up, but only substantial improvements to be now followed. I should like fruit at the distance of forty or fifty

[1] At Pennsbury. — L.

[2] I do not know where Edward Shippen's or G. Owen's houses were, but that of T. Fairman was called the halfway house, between Philadelphia and Frankford, and was a handsome improvement for that time. — L.

[Ed. Shippen's house was a little south of Cedar Street, near Broad Street. Fairman's, or the halfway house, is now the property of the children of Gen. McPherson by his first wife. It was called in the old draft, *Poor Island.* — *Note by J. P. Norris.*]

feet in fields, as also peach-trees; yet shall neither hurt corn nor grass.

Now is the time to make earnings in the islands; wherefore fail not to use the opportunity, and let me see some chests of furs per Messenger. If thou canst, send me per her a copy of the laws to lie by me. Churchill calls on me for his money; pray write and return what is sold, and what I must say to him. I send 2 or 300 books against George Keith, by R. Jenney, which may be disposed of as there is occasion and service; if I have more time I shall write again: so take my leave for this time; Randall going in an hour, and this has three or four miles to go to him. Thy loving friend, WM. PENN.

P. S. — My dear love to all friends, and salutes to all that deserve it. Take care of my mills. Remember me to my family, and let them be kind to poor Lucy and Dutch.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

LONDON, *3d 2d-mo.*, 1703.

My last was three days ago, and last post to Deal; this covers T. Fairman's, and is to tell thee that his brother[1] Robert's letter and letter of attorney are not for thee to deliver, but to know the state of things between the brothers, and to take fitting seasons to put him in mind of his obligations to Robert; and I know it will be a rod in thy hand to govern him. I have said all I can say truly in his favor, and I verily think his brother would leave the most of what he has among his children. He is a loving and kind-hearted man, and his wife as discreet and

[1] There were three brothers of this family, Robert, Francis, and Thomas; the old map describes them as possessed of considerable property in lands. I believe none of their descendants of the same name remain. I can find no account of Robert's ever coming over to this country; there are several of his letters extant, by which it appears that the halfway house and plantation belonged to Robert, though Thomas had usurped the ownership, which his brother observes was not Fairman-like. Thomas appears to have had but an indifferent character, and was, I believe, at this time, surveyor-general. — L.

judicious; but I had much to do to answer her, though I said all I could in his (Thomas's) favor. Robert inclines to leave all to go to you, but his wife not ready; yet fair usage would go a great way to engage her, and were she among the women there she would be a notable ruling woman. I once more desire thee to manage him so that thou mayst make thyself master of his arcanas, which, after all, I am inclined to think short of his accounts and characters. I know not that I shall say more than that I have sent a warrant to constitute my cousin Markham the register-general of the province, which I hope may somewhat help him, and not displease our friends. I am in treaty with the ministers about my government, and hope to make the best of a bad market. If Councillor Mompesson cannot have a salary from the people as chief justice of the province, for which he is well fitted, then, if he were secretary of the government, (if that post is a clog to thee,) or in case of my cousin Markham's decease or refusal, if he were register-general, I should like it, for his deserved encouragement.

Again, I recommend furs by Guy, and some rarity of the country to present to our great men. Coverlids or petticoats of fine furs, Indian work, bows and arrows, &c. Pray send us a barrel or two of apples, if ripe or sound old ones to be had, watermelons, or any produce of the country. I yet believe I shall have another opportunity, so close at this time with all our loves. Thy assured friend, WM. PENN.

Pray urge Gov. Hamilton to write to Robert West, who takes ill his profound silence. I leave T. F.'s open for thee to read and seal. Vale.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM HOWSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 12*th* 2*d-mo.*, 1703.

WM. HOWSTON — LOVING FRIEND: — Richard Halliwell, in behalf of the town of New Castle, making application to have the commons granted to that town settled and confirmed, I once more, while there is an opportunity, request thy final answer about that additional tract and the overplus we have so

much discoursed of; we set the price as low as possible, viz., £15, under which we cannot nor shall not come. If thou please to accept of it on these terms and order the money, it shall be confirmed without delay: if not, it must go into the commons, and for it we shall add the like quantity to that reserved on the back of it, where it will at least be worth the money asked, and therefore where it lies worth double. I request thy speedy answer, which, or thy silence, will positively determine us.

I am thy very loving friend, J. L.

James Logan to H. Hollingsworth

Philadelphia, 14*th* 2*d-mo.*, 1703.

Loving Friend H. Hollingsworth: — I here send thee the warrant of Middletown, later a week I confess than it should have come. However, now thou hast it I would have thee lose no time, but set even this week about it.

"To Thomas Fairman and David Powel, surveyors: In your present journey to the Great Swamp,[1] I desire you, without fail, to lay out, either in one or two tracts, as it shall best suit the place, ten thousand acres of good land, under certain bounds and marked lines and corners, to be returned into the office upon a warrant which shall be directed to you for the Proprietary. Next to survey to Griffith Jones, in pursuance of his warrant, for 2,920 acres with allowance, 2,550 acres with so much more as the tract granted to him above the Welsh of Gwynedd wants of 660 acres, in the place already marked out to him by square regular lines, and as uniform as the place will bear. After which to run head lines for 4 or 5,000 acres or more, to be laid out hereafter to purchasers as you shall have orders, under certain bounded fronts and back lines, but without subdivisions or executing any other warrant whatsoever; also to take a general and full view of the whole lands thereabouts that are of value."

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[1] [In the vicinity of Quakertown, Bucks County. — Editor.]

J. Kirll to Jonathan Dickinson.

Philadelphia, 16*th April*, 1703.

Loving Friend Jonathan Dickinson: — These acquaint thee of our health at this time, but my poor wife was delivered of a dead child about three months since, which was like to have lost her life; thy two sons are well and much altered for the better; the dock lies as thee left it, nobody will put it forward. As yet our city is pretty healthful; things are much after the old rate: we want to be new. It 's reported that Col. Hamilton has the Queen's approbation, which is not at all pleasing to them that wish not well to the contrey. George Keith has been among us, but was but coldly received by most sorts of people; he had disputes with several sorts; but one William Davis, a Seventh-day Baptist, had a dispute with him in the Keithian meeting-house, where George had the worst of it, and was forced to quit the field to his great dishonor; he is now gone to Virginia. I believe he stayed here longer than he was welcome to most sorts. This comes by John Pairmaine, who is master of my sloop; if it should lie in thy way to help him to any freight, or any other way will much oblige. I have ordered him to sell her if no freight present for this place. She will make a good sloop to fetch sugar, will stand two heights on her buts; she is a strong sloop, let people give her what name they please to. With I and wife's dear love to thee and wife,

I am thy assured friend, Jos. Kirll.

Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson, Jamaica.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 19*th* 2*d-mo.*, 1703.

. . . . The state of things, both in church and state, are much as thou left them, though Colonel Quary and that party top it extremely over the government, which by the endeavors of our enemies is made precarious, although we have lately accounts that Col. Hamilton is confirmed by the Queen. The poor man has been very ill a long time. It is my opinion T. Murrey will quickly carry Rebecca Richardson, though violently opposed

by the mother. He has taken Jos. Pidgeon's house for seven years, is building a ship of 20 guns, and is one of the top of the town.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

AMBOY, *29th 2d-mo.*, 1703.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — The mournful occasion of my being here is the funeral of that worthy gentleman, our Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. He lay sick of a putrid and hectic fever for about nine weeks, and departed the 26th instant,[1] in his perfect senses, and was interred yesterday in the afternoon: we had advice of it at Philadelphia but the evening before, viz., 28th, by the post; and presently on the news, Wm. Trent, Thomas Farmer, and myself, being all who on that short notice could get ready, for Friends were mostly gone to Salem meeting, hastened away to pay this last respect, and came time enough to meet the corpse at the grave. So that now all thy late pains for an approbation in his favor are lost, and our enemies unhappily gratified once more. The commission to the council is strong, but one director is gone, and a concurrence of ability and inclination is too much wanting there. I need not mention what speedy provision our circumstances will require: in the mean time I hope we shall be able to keep the peace, preserve order, and towards which nothing shall be wanting that is in my power; but our president's[2] preciseness in some things will scarce suit the exigencies of our affairs at this time, and the next to him, J. Guest, is unfit for power. Whose turn may be next God only knows, but I fear more will follow.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[*Extract.*] PHILADELPHIA, *13th 3d-mo.*, 1703.

. . . . This comes chiefly to inclose W. Clark's letter, which I forgot to take with me to the Governor's funeral at Amboy,

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[1] 26th 2d-mo., 1703. — L.

[2] [Edward Shippen, president of council. — EDITOR.]

from whence I dispatched letters, both by way of York and Boston; since the date of these, viz., the 4th inst., the commission to the council was published, a copy of which is inclosed; it was done in a great hurry, and, either by the transcriber's haste or some other accident, we find the Duke's deeds of feoffment are not mentioned, which gives some occasion to reckon it less valid in respect to those counties. I know not how far it will be insisted on, however; to prevent confusion 't will require thy consideration, and if backed by another commission per first opportunity, till matters can be better settled, with more names inserted, such as Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Thomas Master, Robert Asheton, Charles Read, Francis Rawle, John Finney, &c., it may be much for the ease of those concerned, for 't is now difficult to get a quorum; but it will be necessary to be full and very express with an order for the Great Seal. Thomas Story has gone to the Maryland meeting.

. . . . . .

Bills never were more plenty among the merchants, through the scarcity of money, which seems now to have almost taken its leave of us, so that our poverty ought now effectually to protect us.

What letters the secretary sends from this place to the Proprietary after the date hereof, he is desired to apply the blank leaf at the end of them to a fire till scorched, because that trick may discover the knavery, &c. of &c., but he will send none such now.

I received thine by Mary Phillips, recommended to thy cousin Rooth, and referring to further advice. I have supplied her with about £16: pray give further orders concerning her.

I am again going to Chester County about rents, where I have already sat the best part of two weeks, and received not £20 in the whole, money is so exceedingly scarce. People, notwithstanding, are willing to pay, and owe considerably, but have it not; they offer wheat, but that will not do, there being not sufficient vent for it.

Upon the publication of the commission from the council, they issued a proclamation to continue officers, &c.

The last of thy present commissioners of property[1] says, that though, in what he has wrote to-day, one paragraph may appear almost delirious, at least very odd, yet 't is wrote on good grounds, and if duly observed the next will explain it; but the remembrance of the Cantico[2] and other rogueries would forbid him at this time to be plain. Let him stand or fall, I say, by his own merits: if he prove nonsensical, let him suffer for it.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *6th 4th-mo.*, 1703.

I have had none from thee since the 10th-mo. last, which I am surprised at, so many opportunities from New York and New England presenting, though not from you.

I bless the Lord we are all yet in the land of the living. My son has another boy — mine and his name — and my poor wife going down, to-morrow, to Bristol, to lie in. I have writ fully by the Messenger, as also by Randal Janney, in the Jolly Galley, which I hope are come well to hand, and will be considered and followed.

For my rents, debts due to me, public or private, as also salable lands, as per last, I do earnestly press their returns, but much rather in furs and skins than tobacco, per Barbadoes; but by bills were best, for the load I am under be too heavy to bear without large supplies; wherefore avoid all expenses unnecessary.

My son is now in earnest to be with you by the Virginia fleet, that sails by orders the 10th of the 6th-mo., (two months hence,) and so thence up the bay, unless better conveniency offers more directly in the mean time as early as that. I am actually in treaty with the ministers for my government, and so soon as it bears, you shall be informed of it. I believe it repents some they began it, for now 't is I that press it, upon pretty good terms, as well for the people as self, in the judgment of the wisest and best of my friends; but that shall never weaken my love to, and residence in, Pennsylvania, and so I

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[1] The writer here refers to himself. — L.

[2] A vessel of that name. — L.

command by will my posterity. You will have an increase of Friends among you to support the superiority, or balance at least, in the province; so after I have done with the government, and called upon Ireland, if the Lord give me life, I purpose to fly to you as fast as I can.

I have been much pressed by Jacob Telner about Rebecca Shippen's business in the town. I desire that truth and righteousness may take place, and that it may be done, at any rate, impartially.

Also pray remind S. Carpenter of his promise about ending the business of the widow Lloyd; it regards poor Thomas Hart and Edward Man, by whom I am spoken to very often with grief as well as resentment. Fail not.

B. Chambers is much called upon by the poor adventurers in the old society,[1] and some of them are truly so, even to the want of bread. They are not satisfied with his accounts, and think he should let them know what is left upon a moderate estimate, for want of which none will buy, where some would sell their shares; in which be particular to him, for 'tis a dishonest business to the country. Perhaps I may have another larger opportunity by some way, so shall now say no more, but that we send our loves and good wishes, and desire the same may be made particular to all our town and country friends, as if named, and other folks that deserve it, and that I am thy affectionate, real friend, WM. PENN.

7th 4th mo.— I have sent a duplicate by R. Janney, or Guy, of the Queen's approbation of Governor Hamilton, of whose conduct I desire an account. His countrymen [are], at this minute, under the greatest ferment; and let him know that the Duke of Hamilton's party prevails to have grievances and privileges preferred to ——[2]; that the commissioner, Duke of Queensbury, pressed, no notable thing, but the alliance with Portugal shrewdly managed by Methuin's negotiation, who is yet Lord Chancellor of Ireland. I have sent a letter, lately sent me from the Lords for Trade and Plantations, about the old quota business, which is enclosed to Col. Hamilton, to act or recommend

[1] [The Free Society of Traders. — EDITOR.]
[2] [Blank in the original. — EDITOR.]

as he sees reason. He obtains a better credit here; and for poor Bass, he is the most miserable wretch living. Sonomans has his place, who is run away and left the commission for Secretary of the Jerseys, for want of money to take it out, and has left his poor brother Loiflin and one Wilcox in the lurch, breaking all faith with them at going away, so that his credit is at an end. Pray mind my two proprietaries in West Jersey, taken up by Bass for me and his friend Daniel Leeds, of which the collector at Burlington is able to give an account, for I think he was surveyor, and I left the draught, when there, in my closet, I am confident. Jos. Grove paid me t' other fifty pounds, when I never wanted (it) more, a guinea being less to me a year since than a crown is now; therefore remember me by all opportunities. My love to the Commissioners of Property and magistrates. Vale.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 14*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1703.

By way of York, Boston, Jamaica, and Barbadoes, I have advised of Gov. Hamilton's decease on the 26th 2d-mo. last, since which I am to advise thee that on the 18th[1] ult., Col. Quary, understanding that the council was to sit that day, sent them word that he desired to wait on them, having something of importance to lay before them: which proved an order of the Queen in council, enjoining all officers to take the oath or affirmation enjoined by law in England, and that all persons enjoined to take an oath in England should likewise take it here, or the proceeding be null and void. I need not be particular in the recital because thou art fully acquainted with it, only the consequence since Gov. Hamilton's decease, considering of what persons the council is made up, is like to be troublesome and perplexing. Some of the members, as John Guest and Samuel Finney, being unwilling to act till they have taken all those en-

[1] [This should be the 17th. Quary's communication became a subject of discussion at many subsequent meetings, and appears to have caused perplexity with the members of the council. — 2 *Col. Records*, 89 *et post.* — Editor.]

joined, and particularly that required by act of Parliament for the security of trade, for which the dedimus, which has ministered occasion for one of Quary's articles, is directed to him and his factious brethren; but in this now, 't is scarce expected they will comply and discharge their duty on any reasonable terms, more than they would before to Gov. Hamilton; and how it will be now done without them is not yet fully understood, but till it is done by some means or other, there will be a stop, I perceive, to all proceedings. The time appointed to try them is the 13th instant, when 't is hoped all that are to take it will be here, as Wm. Clark from below, and Thomas Story from Maryland, where he has been about five weeks on the account of his ministry.

Col. Quary is now at New York with Lord Cornbury, from whence he is now returning, and designs back, 't is said, forthwith, to accompany said Lord Cornbury to Albany. The Assembly of New York have ordered two good forts to be built on the Narrows, one on Long Island, the other on Staten Island, which they believe will secure them from hostile attempts by sea. The said orders were sent to Col. Quary from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, with directions to publish it in all the courts, which he has hitherto done, and thereupon they have adjourned, for due dedimus to qualify them. We cannot see how in the courts of Bucks and Chester they will be able to act at all as things now stand; though had it pleased God to have continued Gov. Hamilton's life among us we should have felt very little inconvenience from this, but now shall labor under too great a perplexity, so that immediate application to supply the place will be required. His loss will prove exceeding fatal to all the revenues of government, which were at a stand before in expectation of his approbation, but now, unless one succeed in thy interest they seem to be quite despaired of. Gov. Nicholson, of Virginia, passed this way lately, to and from New York, and at his departure did all the mischief it was possible for him at New Castle, though treated very civilly by Friends here. I accompanied him to Burlington upwards, and designed to New Castle with him downwards; but at Chester, at supper with Jasper Yeates, we had some high words, occasioned at first by the clergy, on which J. Growdon, who was with us, and I, returned

from thence in the morning: the subject was the territories. He has encouraged them, as 't is reported, to build a church at New Castle, on the green, and promises to procure a confirma- of it from Queen Anne. It will be extremely necessary to procure a lieutenant for some time at least in thy interest, or thy affairs cannot have justice here. I would be larger, but not having a safe hand to send by, and fearing this may be served as those per the Industry were, I am more cautious.

. . . . By way of York I inclosed bills, &c., &c. . . . . Money to buy them being so scarce that it seems almost to have taken its leave of this continent, which will be sufficiently confirmed by those that go hence. To the infelicity of the times therefore, and no remissness in me, I hope thou wilt impute thy disappointments from this place. . . . .

I sent a large packet from via York last 1st-mo., and shall be fuller per said opportunities. H. Childs, arriving here two days ago, delivered thine, by his long detaining of which I could but suspect his discretion: his excuses are weak. This country however seems to have a loss in him, by his not settling in it, for he appears a capable and good man. I shall fully satisfy his bills before his departure, which will be in two or three week, &c. J. L.

James Logan to William Penn.

(In continuation of that of the 14th 4th-mo., 1703.)

Philadelphia, 24*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1703.

The preceding is what I sent last post, by way of Boston, wrote in the original more obscurely, and with many abbreviations, that it might be the less intelligible, should it miscarry, to which reason ascribe all that shall come in the same method hereafter.

In that I have mentioned that the council has appointed the 13th of the next month to be a full board to try [unintelligible[1]] whether in pursuance of that and the Queen's orders, they will administer the oath to such as will take it, and the affirmation

[1] [The omitted words are to try "the commission prescribed in the late king's dedimus." — Editor.]

to the rest. But Col. Quary returning from New York since, and several being uneasy that affairs, especially those relating to trade should be procrastinated, Samuel Carpenter and I last night went to the Colonel and discoursed him about it, who has declared his opinion that it ought forthwith to be done, and professes his readiness to be serviceable in it: upon which the 29th instant is appointed, whether there be a full council or not, and the other commissioners are this day to be sent to: notwithstanding this, that productive head of all mischief, J. Moore, will I doubt find some unhappy pretence to perplex us.

In our discourse with Col. Quary, I found a great offence taken at the trials in the last provincial court by juries, impanelled, he says, not only without an oath, but on a single affirmation, to try two persons for their lives, and therefore believe he has made it the subject of one article more against us.

William Clark in his letter gave an account of that court, which was sent by way of New York, and now I send enclosed by the Experiment, the record of these proceedings, together with a minute of council made on that occasion, and shall give a true state of the case briefly, as follows:

Last September court, Judges Guest and Finney, being two of the bench, and the governor then absent, were of opinion that it would be more proper, considering how affairs stood, to have a particular commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, for this county, directed to such only as would take and administer oaths, than to proceed at that time by the standing commission to y^e^ provincial judges, of whom there was not a sufficient number to make a quorum for the county, either of such as could swear, or of such as could not separate from the others, the law appointing only five judges, of whom this county requires three; so that those that could swear being unwilling upon that occasion to act without oaths, and those that could not, incapable to act with them, and there being only four judges here, for W. Clark was absent, they could not proceed to any trial at that time: I mean of life and death.

Upon this, such a special commission as I have mentioned was, some considerable time after, viz., in February, directed to Judge Guest, Captain Finney, and Edward Farmer, or any two of them,

for delivering the said gaol, the 23d of said month, and accordingly the court was opened, and the persons summoned for the grand jury, who were all such as could take an oath, were according to the sheriff's panel called over, but a sufficient number not appearing, either in the morning or afternoon, the sheriff was ordered by the court to make up a sufficient number out of the tales, which was done; but the oath being offered to them, some refused for one reason, some for another, and not one would act, so that we evidently perceived the endeavors we always expected would be used, by those factious persons who contend for nothing more than our confusion, had been too successful, and nothing could be depended on for the public good and welfare of the place, where these men could have any influence. After court some inquiries were made into the reason of the refusal, and the principal and most open that were given were, that the trial of such criminals belonged to the provincial court when it came of course, and that a special court seemed not so conformable to law: but this was wholly groundless; the law leaves sufficient room for such courts, and they could not but know that it has been frequently practiced. However, this served to impose on those who knew no better: but of those that did the real argument was that the commission being issued by Col. Hamilton, who had not the Queen's approbation, was not valid in itself, and, therefore, none could be safe to act under it; which argument, though it could not startle the judges, yet they thought ought to weigh with the jury, being to them of the highest moment; this to be sure could not appear otherwise than extremely ridiculous, all men knowing that it is the bench and not the jury who are answerable for the judgment given, and 'tis the judgment only that takes away the life. But in the bottom of all it is plain the design was to prevent all things that might take away occasion of complaint, and that they hoped the delaying of justice might prove a great one.

This endeavor of the governor proving fruitless, the criminals continued in prison till the provincial court returned of course, which was on the 10th of the 2d-mo. last, but still it returned under the same disadvantages as the other did before, only that the other judge was present, which made up three of such as

could not swear. The court being called, and all five in town, Judge Guest and Finney, as they had done before, declined acting, and the other three, William Clark, Edward Shippen, and T. Masters, held the court and impanelled a grand jury: not by oath, for that they could not administer, but by an affirmation according to the law of England; which being done, and several discourses arising upon it, they, desirous to act cautiously to their utmost, advised not only among themselves what was fit to be done, which occasioned some short adjournment, but at length advised also with some members of council, who concluded altogether that the royal charter to thee, the Proprietary, requiring the law for felonies, &c., to be the same here as in England, until they should be altered by thee and the people, and the same charter in other clauses giving full power to make laws, the law of England could not be our rule after such alterations were made; that charter only being the foundation of thy government, that therefore we have no privilege but by that charter, and could have no law but such as it directed; that having made of our own, pursuant to its direction, which were not yet disallowed of that we knew of, these must be our guide and rules; that we having a law that directed how juries should be qualified, whilst we acted by that we acted legally, and could not act so by any other. However, that, while this government found no fault with the administration of oaths when it should be thought there was occasion for them, it was very probable the government of England would not, and, therefore, such as should administer to those that were free to it, acted safely.

Upon this the grand jury was again attested, according to the law of this government in that case provided, and business carried forward without any obstruction to the end, in which one young man was burnt in the hand for manslaughter, pleading the benefit of his clergy, and a woman condemned to death for murdering her child, but is not, nor is likely to be executed.

This is a true state of the case, and if any fault be found it will scarcely, I suppose, lie at the judges' door, for there was a necessity to deliver those miserable wretches out of gaol, where they had long been under great hardships; and for the reasons aforesaid, no other means appearing, they pursued the law

strictly, which they have reason to plead in their defence; and by the validity of that all things of this nature must stand or fall.

I must here observe that the governor, though always desirous to have oaths administered where it could by any means be done, yet could not again venture to issue a new commission to the new provincial judges, for by that means their old commissions, which are from thyself, and therefore disputed by none, would be made void, and the validity of the new one, issued by Governor Hamilton, not yet approved of that we know of, would be disputed, and by that means all the business of the Supreme Court obstructed. At the first-mentioned Court of Oyer and Terminer, &c., J. Moore, Attorney General, rode out of town without taking any notice of it at all, though advertised of it by the judges themselves, and by order of council, that he might prepare to prosecute for the Queen; and in the last he pleaded an indisposition of body, and would not act then. The cause of the first was the invalidity of the commission in his judgment; of the other, the want of oaths.

There is one thing more has much disturbed some of the clergy here, which was, they say, that Edward Shippen, a mayor of the city, sent a constable to keep the peace, or defend one Davies, a whimsical fellow here, that opposed George Keith, while he uttered blasphemies against heaven, or which is worse, the church. I was absent then, with John Moore, at Bucks court, about Tatham's and Growdon's business, and therefore was wholly a stranger to it, and though it made some little noise, never thought it worth my while to inquire into it, through an utter aversion I have to things of the kind. This morning, however, hearing complaint was made of it, I inquired of the mayor himself, for further satisfaction, and he has promised an account of all he knows of the matter, under his own hand, which also comes by the Experiment. The mayor himself, with most of those, both of our friends and church folks, were, at the time of this flurry, at our meeting-house, at young John Jones's wedding with his step-mother's daughter, Margaret Waterman; which wedding, for the number of people and splendor of entertainment, was the most considerable that has ever been in this

province, and kept the invited, among whom was Col. Quary and family, and all of that rank, as well as Friends, till some good part of the afternoon was spent, so that they were innocent, and knew not what passed, if anything; and I have often since, in discourse, transiently heard the depositions represented as very ridiculous things, though I never would see or inquire into one of them; and I believe men cannot expose themselves more than by showing an inclination to lay hold on such trifles and groundless stories for matter of accusation. If there has been any other occasion of complaint taken — for I am confident there is none given — I am a stranger to it, as of necessity we must all be, while they court opportunities, keep all silent, industriously hear and in the dark, and without the least notice to any that should redress them, thunder over accounts of their sham grievances, &c. I wish next third-day, the 29th inst. — mentioned before — could pass over before these ships sail, but 't is not to be expected; for I much doubt we shall daily be more and more perplexed, and therefore intreat thy application for some further provision for our good order in times of so much danger.

We have nothing of any kind about us, for that General Codrington's particular humor has lost the expedition against Guadaloupe, and the fleet at Jamaica spend their bottoms on the worm and their powder in roaring acclamations for the Queen's health, I suppose is none.

Jemmy Le Tort went to Canada with Louis Lemoine in the fall of 1701, and returned lately without the other, not liking the place. We have had him up, and examined him strictly, but cannot discover that he knows anything, or that he was received or taken notice of; but he tells us that the French have settled a priest among the Onondagoes, and that the government of York, as he was informed, warned them to send the said priest away forthwith, but they had refused. Letters from the eastward say they have advices, several ways, that the French there are upon a design of making a descent somewhere on these colonies.

Indian Harry not having been here for twelve months past, notwithstanding he promised otherwise, I designed to Con-

estogoe, as I wrote before last 2d-mo.; but hearing he was gone abroad, I stopped my journey; and now he has wholly prevented it by coming himself last week; he can inform us of nothing.

Pray inform further what I am to do relating to that gentlewoman recommended to thy cousin Rooth, Mary Phillips. She had but about £20 of me. In the letter by her, thou wert pleased to express thy inclination to grant Col. Markham some request he had made, if practicable, which proved the Surveyor General's place; but that could not possibly be now, in the time of general resurveys, when the whole is done at thy charge almost, and through the people's backwardness will cost thee some hundreds of pounds advanced out of pocket. The time, I hope, will bring it almost all in again, besides the advantage of the overplus itself, which is the only inducement.

Within the time limited, all old surveys in the province, and County of New Castle, will, I hope, be perfected, but nothing done in the two lower counties. For reasons given before, besides that I really think it would never answer, these, while money is so scarce and trade so dull, are very chargeable, yet generally will prove well worth while, I hope, though very troublesome before they can be fully settled.

I know not what to do about thy interest in the Jerseys. I am wholly a stranger to them, more than what the deeds left here will show, and these seem to have a reserve, which very reserve, I perceive it is, that Dr. Cox claims. He desires a friendly conference on both sides, is willing to show thee his title, and desires that we will do the same; but S. Jennings, the chief of the attorneys for those parts, is very shy, and pleads ignorance, and T. Story and I may certainly more justly plead it; so that we are cautious, and think not fit to go any further than we are sure the ground is good. The Dr. has pressed it several times, declaring that he desired nothing more than what, in the judgment of any man of understanding, would appear to be his due, and what he could make an indisputable title to. If thee hast a better, he would readily quit all claim. Of which language I no ways understanding the ground, have kept the whole discourse at a distance, and would never enter

upon it, so that as yet we have never done anything, for fear of doing wrong in what we could not understand, and giving an advantage that we did not see. I wish thou wouldst be pleased to write to Samuel Jennings fully about it. . . . .

On the Experiment, in which Edward Shippen, junior, comes, I have shipped, &c. . . . . The bear-skins are a commodity, when good, and these are none of the very best, yet well worth what they cost, viz., 12s. per piece, now sold at 14 or 15. They are very scarce, and through the mildness of the past winter not easy to be had so large as formerly. The small furs, I believe, are right good. . . . .

I have endeavored at a perfect rent-roll for Chester, but not one half of the people came in, for shame, they say, that they could not raise money, though by printed bills they had large notice; and of those that came in, not one half could pay, so that out of the whole county I could not raise £40; however, were wheat in such demand again that I could take it at any certain price of money, I would complete the rolls, and make some hand of it or other.

T. Story not being returned from Maryland, the commissioners do not write, and the council have mentioned, but not ordered, that a letter should be drawn up from them: in the mean time, Ed. Shippen, and some others, press me to urge the necessity of making some more suitable provision for the government; for affairs are like to be exceedingly perplexed by their not being able to administer oaths, upon this last order of the Queen.

There is a fine new vessel, built here, called the Pennsbury Galley, carried on by Thomas Murray and Joseph Shippen, intends to sail hence for London this summer, on whom I shall ship, &c.

Poor James Streater, being settled above the Falls, has very lately lost both son and daughter by the distemper that has been hovering around us. We are healthy in town, and generally so, as yet, in the country.

Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, and several others give their dear love and due respects, with which also from myself concludes

Thy most faithful, J. L.

P. S. *26th.*—I have this day finished with Henry Childs, and paid him £12. 10s. interest. He is a close man. We have not heard from thee since 7br, now nine months.

One Squire Ash, a gentleman of an estate, parts, and education, a friend to this country, lately arrived here from Carolina, goes over with Edward Shippen. He has made great observations, and is worth notice. I send the registers of vessels in a distinct packet, inscribed "for the Queen's service," per Edward Shippen; also a copy of the answers to Col. Quarry's articles, in another packet. In another packet, by itself, I send the invoice and bills of lading to S. Vaus, least thou should be out of town.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *9th 5th-mo.*, 1703.

By Puckle and Edward Shippen, in the Experiment — which sailed hence last week — I have been large, since which I have received thine by R. Janney and the Messenger, both safely arrived with Councillor Mompesson, whose presence, had Gov. Hamilton lived, had brought us into the most excellent order; but Providence is pleased, for reasons best known to His all-seeing eye, to dispose our affairs otherwise.

I shall not now undertake to answer thy last, the Messenger designing back in a little time, but send this only to notify their arrival, in case it may, by the eastward, find an opportunity of coming to hand before her; and again to press thee to make some further provision for this place, the first step to which may be to send a new commission to the council, making R. Mompesson president, with a considerable power vested in him alone, till a governor can be again approved, which is absolutely necessary for thy interest, and taking in as many churchmen or jurors as possible, such as Charles Read, R. Asheton, the collector, if the commissioners there would think it proper; William Trent, but he will scarce act, I suppose. A. Paxton is not to be trusted, I doubt, and I think I cautioned it in my letter. I question not but the detaining Col. Hamilton's, &c., was no other than a design, and a base one too, when the

others were sent up before. I think the number ought not to be above a dozen or fifteen, of which five a quorum, and that number at least of such as aforesaid.

I have sent copies of the present commission, which, if miscarried, the names and ordinances now are: Ed. Shippen, J. Guest, W. Clark, S. Carpenter, T. Story, G. Owen, P. Pemberton, S. Finney, Caleb Pusey, J. Blackfan; but Ph. Pemberton is dead; J. B. not proper, or G. O. much so, or of much service, both having a reluctancy, and tender because of their testimonies, and neither would take it ill if left out and wrote to. I suppose G. Owen, thinking one commission enough, for which he is much fitter, Gov. Hamilton added J. Finney; but he was useless; and thy servants, who are now both dropt, of course.

This commission is unhappily deficient in not reciting the Duke's deed of feoffment, as well as the King's grant, for the foundation of the powers, which are only those contained in this letter; I know not by what or whose omission. It will be necessary, therefore, to draw the next very full, and by a good hand, for former things of that kind will not hold water now, giving all the powers of government, whatever, to the whole, and in all ordinary affairs, as registering ships, &c., to the president, and in his absence — for Judge Mompesson will be much absent, I doubt — to,[1] I cannot advise who, for J. G.'s head cannot bear much power, though 't is mended, I think; others think not; and E., S., &c., are not so fit on the other account. Pray let several duplicates of this commission, engrossed and signed with warranties for the great seal to be affixed, be sent by all opportunities, as Barbadoes packet-boats, York and Boston, either from London or the out parts, being of such importance, both to thyself and us; for thy despatches and packets have, hitherto, lain long, as mine has now done, at York, above three months, and my last by Puckle will, I doubt, at Virginia.

I know not what skins or furs I shall get to send by the Messenger. What I had, viz., one chest, is gone by Puckle, and one hogshead bear-skins by the Experiment. As I have often said, they are not to be purchased without Indian goods. If, there-

[1] [Sic. — Editor.]

fore, thou would engage with any adventurer who can and will buy goods at the best hand to send over, to the value of 80 or 100 sterling, of strouds, duffelds, powder, small bar lead, shirts, good cheap guns, &c., at a time, and agree to pay him here, 125, 30, 40, or, rather than fail, 150 per cent., if well brought, upon the first cost, not the bottom of the invoice, and order them to pay for them according, I could make returns that way more effectually, and would answer thee in all respects. But I would not have them consigned to me to make returns for them; and if it were possible to agree to take country produce for them, if being very well bought there, thou might venture to give 160 per cent.; for they are bulky goods mostly, and take much freight. None sells here now under 150, many for 175. But to expect to have the Indian trade secured to them, is as vain as to expect they will make offerings of their whole estates to them. The merchants will never bear it. Contrivance and management may give thee a share with the rest, and more is not to be depended on. P. Parmenter is just arrived here from York, the first time since thy departure. He affirms Lord Cornbury is in the wrong interest for this place, notwithstanding professions, and desires this government to be annexed. Col. Quary I know is great with him. Gov. Nicholson and his company, J. More, also, were very great there. The council has wrote a civil letter to him on the governor's death, three posts ago, but is not answered.

There is one George Roach lately arrived here from Antigua, a very rich and good-natured man. He is great with S. Holt, otherwise, perhaps, might be fit for the council, but cannot with certainty advise. Pray be pleased to remember the present council, because of the Queen's late orders; and in registering ships can scarce do anything. I fear New York will hurt Judge Mompesson as to us. P. Parmenter is not in favor with Lord Cornbury, which makes his information the less certain, but it may be too true. I must, with due respects and in all dutifulness, conclude. Thy most faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES LOGAN.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JONATHAN DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *the 8th of 6th-mo.*, 1703.

DEAR FRIEND JONATHAN DICKINSON:—*

. . . . . .

I could not sell the iron together, or any considerable quantity, there being much in country, and it being all Spanish and rusty, was slighted. T. M. once seemed inclinable to give 36 per cwt. for it, the pay in bread. . . . .

Before thy order came about paying five pounds to the free school, brother Preston and I had added 20s. per annum to thy subscription for the remaining time, as we did from our own; so . . . . that at present, unless thou further order. I have spoke to brother and sister Preston about the children's . . . .[1] and do not perceive but what thy offers will give content; and be assured they shall want no assistance of money for clothing or anything needful. My sister gives one of the schoolmasters his entertainment, chiefly on their account; and I think by that means they are broke of a habit of crying, and being averse to shout very much, and all done with kindness; and there is in the main a good understanding between the little sparks and their masters.

As to that about tradesmen here, there are several talk of going over as bricklayers or carpenters, and two or three sets of sawyers. I cannot find any of them willing to contract but on unreasonable terms, they being blown up as if it is nothing but to jump into an estate there presently. However this, I shall endeavor to get them to promise the refusal of their services, and therefore 't will be well that Ezekiel, or somebody, be prepared and ready to meet and treat with them I shall recommend to him.

As to the land at Susquehanna, nothing is done further yet; but young Wm. Penn being expected, then somewhat will be done. The settlement of those lands at the head of N. East river, or Octoraro, seems to give value to our Susquehanna. . . . . Our place is, considering the time of year, very healthy.

[1] [Illegible. — EDITOR.]

Thy children are well, and our family. G. Claypoole applies himself to Martha,[1] I know not how 't will go, who, with her two sons, are still with us; we expect brother to fetch her at our Yearly Meeting. Samuel Bownas is ill. The Friends lately from England, Thos. and Josiah, we understand, are well, in Barbadoes. Things among Friends, in the main, well here. The Bank meeting-house will be finished against the meeting. Here are more good houses built this summer than ever I knew in one since I came to the country. T. Masters has built a stately one, five stories from the lower street, and three above the upper, at the corner of High Street. A. Bickle has built another three-story, at the corner next Wm. Hudson's.

With dear love to my good friend Mary, thy father, and you all, I conclude. Thy affectionate friend,

ISAAC NORRIS.

CHARLES READ TO JONATHAN DICKINSON.

[*Extract.*] PHILADELPHIA, *August* 17, 1703.

. . . . Blessed be God, we are peaceful and very healthful, both in town and country. The Lord Cornbury is now in this town, having published his commission for the government of the Jerseys, at Burlington, on Friday last. What will become of the government we know not as yet. The death of our Governor Hamilton has broke all our measures. I doubt we shall not be so happy in another, he being an affable, moderate man, and, as far as I could observe, free from that avaricious humor too predominate among us. . . . .

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

WORMINGHURST, *27th 6th-mo.*, 1703.

I have heard, by two letters, from my cousin Parmiter, from New York, one of the 3d, the other of 23d of the last 3d-mo., of the death of Col. Hamilton, and by the last that he died at Amboy. That being an affair which much affects me and the province, I hoped to have heard from thee about it at the first

[1] Martha Hoskins.—L.

opportunity, anywhere upon the continent. Next, the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations took notice to me of the present insufficiency of the government in Pennsylvania, because the first of the council was not able to register ships, administer an oath, or perform some other requisites in government, while three or four of the council were churchmen, and of age and experience in affairs; and no matter who of the council transacted them, so that they were qualified to do it; and that by our constitution our Friends were so for the administration of our government. It went over till a letter came from Lord Cornbury, *your great friend*,[1] importing a representative from the Church of England with you, to him, complaining of a man's being lately sentenced to death by a jury of Quakers, not only not sworn, but not attested, according to the act of Parliament in England; to which I answered I had heard nothing of it, and so soon as any advices came, should inform them of it. In the mean time it was not to be thought that a colony and constitution of government made by and for Quakers, would leave themselves, and their lives and fortunes, out of so essential a part of the government as juries; that there and here differed much, as we had never gone thither with our lives and substance, to be so precarious in our security as not to be capable of being a juryman. If the coming of others shall overrule us that are the originals, and made it a country, we are unhappy; that it is not to be thought we intended no easier nor better terms for ourselves, in going to America, than we left behind us. As yet, this has allayed the spirit of the objectors; but of none of this have I a word, which has been some concern to me. Pray let me hear oftener. I have not had one penny, consequently, towards my support, since the taking of the two ships I advised thee of, and lived in town ever since I came over, at no small expense, having not been three months of the twenty I have been in England absent from court, putting all the time together that I have been at this place and Bristol, from whence I came three weeks ago, and was there but about fourteen or sixteen days, on occasion of my wife's lying in, who this day month was brought to bed of a daughter, whom we call Han-

[1] [The italics are Penn's. — EDITOR.]

nah Margarita.[1] They, with my two sons, were lately well, and so am I, I bless God, at present.

I did, upon the news of the death of Col. Hamilton, immediately apply to the Queen for another governor, and named one here, as a disinterested person, which she referred, by Lord Notingham, to the Lords of Trade, who lost no time in reporting in his favor, so that he quickly obtained the Queen's approbation, and is now ready to embark, with his commission and instructions from me, and instructions from the Lords about the acts of trade only. He is a young man, not above six-and-twenty, but sober and sensible, entirely in my interest, as far as he may go, and the son of an old friend of mine, that valued me not a little. He will be discreet, advisable, and especially by the best of our friends, and thyself, as the best verst and most knowing in my affairs, as well as engaged in my interest. He will early apply to S. Carpenter, Ed. Shippen, Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, and honest Griffith Owen, his countryman, but especially to thee, in the first place, for the reasons aforesaid, even how to demean towards them, least there should be any alteration in their tempers or inclinations of them. His name is John Evans,[2] and Welshmen are mightily akin; perhaps it may have some influence on the parson.[3] I also recommend him to Col. Markham, cousin Asheton, T. Ffarmer, &c., in which give him thy hints. He will hear Friends, and goes possessed with the justice and reason of their case; and the rest I must leave to you upon the spot; but my son will tell thee more of the motives to this choice. He has been at all the charge I bore for Col. Hamilton, and got his own security, and

[1] This child died in 1708. William Penn left two daughters, by the first wife, Letitia Aubrey, and by the second wife Margaret, married to Thomas Freame, Esq. Letitia had no children. Lady Cremorne is the only descendant of Margaret. — L.

[2] J. Norris, in a letter of the same year, says: "The governor (J. Evans) has sense, and hitherto carries very well. Col. Quary is Surveyor-General of the Customs and Judge of the Admiralty here again, and John Moore (since the death of honest Bewley, last first-day, suddenly) is the Collector appointed by the Colonel." — L.

[3] [The Rev. Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, is here referred to. He was sent over as a missionary by Compton, Bishop of London. — Editor.]

gave me no trouble on that account. He shows not much, but has a good deal to show, and will grow upon the esteem of the better sort. He has travelled, and seen armies, but never been in them. Book learning, as to men and government, he inclines to, carries over some good books, and expects, among mine and thine, to help himself with more. Give him, as soon as he comes, a hint of persons and things, and guide his reading. I wish him to my cousin Asheton's[1] or cousin Markham's to board, unless he, my son, Mompesson his friend, and thou should take a house among you. I allow him two hundred pounds, that money per an., which will be sterling, or at most at the New England sterling; by that time the Queen returns from the Bath. I gave thee a hint of the design of altering the coin, in some of my last letters. Pray act therein for the best advantage.

Now I am to tell thee, that when I told the lords Col. Hamilton was dead, Secretary Blathwait answered me: "*Then there is dead the man, of all the rest, that has writ against proprietary governments, the most neatly and strongly.*" I replied: "*And yet with what difficulty, besides charge, did I obtain that enemy of my interest, and friend to yours, to be my deputy governor.*" But his moderation about the affairs of New York renewed a good opinion of him, and I believe, had he lived, by the help of his friends here, he had been favored in his concerns. But of this passage of Secretary Blathwait say nothing, unless under secrecy

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[1] "The young proprietor, the governor, and Secretary Logan, all keep house at Clark's Hall, which is completely fitted up." This housekeeping was the source of much trouble and expense to the secretary, the governor insisting that his expenses were to be paid by the government. — L.

Governor Evans was accompanied to Pennsylvania by the proprietor's son, William, and their arrival was quite unexpected by the people; an old letter of Samuel Preston's of the date of 1704, says: "I need not tell thee that we have a governor, together with our proprietary's son, supposing thou art already acquainted with it, whose coming was no small surprise, having no account thereof till themselves brought us the certificate that such was in town, and strange it was to have a deputy of William Penn's appointment clothed with the Queen's approbation, a man, though young, commended for conduct, temper, and moderation." — L.

to S. Carpenter, or S. Jennings, or Francis Davenport: but those two may remember at Gov. Hamilton's house, at Burlington, I told you this, as my jealousy, at least to Davenport and Gardner, and elsewhere to Samuel Jennings more than once, I suppose to ingratiate himself against they became king's governments; but I could have as soon picked a pocket, or denied my friend or name, considering the bread he eat was, for fifteen or sixteen years running, by proprietary government. But what shall a man say of this wretched world?[1] I am with Councillor West, endeavoring to serve his creditors and family about the post, however.[2] I wrote to thee thrice since the receipt of any from thee: one by a ship directly to New England, directed to Daniel Zachary; another by Col. Usher: but that ship touches at New Foundland, inclosed also to Daniel Zachary; and another by way of New York, directed to the postmaster of that place, as I remember. I wrote one to John.

The story of the money will be told thee by the deputy governor, and more fully by my son,[3] who comes to see how he likes, and to stay, or return to fetch his wife, or settle here. I refer thee to my former letters for what concerns him, and thy respect and care of him every way. He aims to improve his study this winter with thee, as well as to know the country, the laws and people thereof, and his interest and mine therein. Use thy utmost influence upon him to make him happy in him-

[1] [I am unable to clear up the obscurity, in more than one respect, of these passages. Penn, however, it is plain, refers to the expression to Davenport and Gardner at Gov. Hamilton's, at Burlington, of some "*jealousy*," or apprehension, as to the character of the deceased gentleman's views on the subject of proprietary governments. It is possible he may not have known the extent of their unfriendliness, although we are left in doubt, whether Penn's reply to the secretary was uttered under the emotion of surprise, or with a previous knowledge of the facts communicated by him. — EDITOR.]

[2] It was obtained for one of Governor Hamilton's sons by William Penn. — L.

[3] Our young proprietary seems to like the country, and talks of fetching his family; but by endeavoring to sell off all his lands he must give me leave to think otherwise. He goes to no other worship, and sometimes comes to meetings; he is good-natured, and loves company, but that of Friends is too dull. I say this much to answer thy request. — *Isaac Norris to J. Dickinson, 28th 5th-mo.*, 1704. — L.

self and me in him; watch over him for good, qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge; he has a more than ordinary opinion of thee: advise him to proper company, give him fitting hints how far to go, he being naturally but too open; and prevent his quarrelling with our enemies, an advantage they may improve to our common prejudice. In short, keep him inoffensively employed, at those times that he is not profitably concerned. Let the first be the country, its laws and constitutions, the settlement of the town and counties, in short, the true state of the case: then study, with intervals in the woods and upon the waters, where I should be glad such company as Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and sometimes Samuel Carpenter, and Richard Hill, as well as the young Shippens, would be so kind. Cousin Asheton, Mompesson, and T. Ffarmer, if not worse than formerly, would be well enough sometimes also.

I hope I need not bid thee take care to lay thy hand upon some choice discovery of land, where there is water, meadow, timber, and risings, to clap some old purchases upon, that some of my friends are buying of first undertakers, a word to the wise.

I am now to tell thee that I am to make my daughter's lots and lands up 2,000 sterling to Wm. Aubrey, and what yet is wanting, a farm in England is to supply that deficiency, though I hope her interest is better worth there; and tell the trustees sell, for so it is to be called, sell as thou wilt hear from him, or his attorneys, Richard Hill and his poor heady brother-in-law, but advise them to secrecy. Thou art to pay them at the rate of one hundred and twenty pounds sterling value, which is, I suppose, one hundred and sixty of your present money, in which be exact.

Let me per first opportunity have thy sense of my interest of the lowering of money to English standard, or New England's at least; whether it will be better [obliterated] or thy reasons why not.

I think to send thee the Queen's repeal of the money law: but that is to be a secret, for though the Lords of Trade brought it to that without my knowledge, yet upon my memorial to the Queen for a standard, or all would be in con-

fusion, the lords desired me, after hearing me, that I would keep the repeal by me till they had made the general representation, which is at the standard of Boston, because their law was confirmed by King William, otherwise would reduce it to English standard; what obstructs the delivery of it to the Queen in council is the nicety of two of their board; one would give three or six months to the end pre-contracts may have time to be paid off. The other would have them exempted in general without naming any time; the rest think the object trivial, and have signed without regard to pre-contracts, and argued from none being provided for in our own laws upon raising the coin three times, nor in England at the rise and fall of guineas, nor in other nations, as Ireland, France, or Holland, where it varies most of all. In case it is for my advantage, and is no detriment to the public, publish the repeal; if not, keep it by thee and unknown. I have a duplicate by me if asked for, and no obligation upon me to answer their request after doing this thing without my knowledge.[1]

For my government I refer thee to the deputy governor, and my son more inwardly, entreat our friends to gain him all they can, and never speak or report anything of him to his disparagement behind his back, but tell him of it, and he has that reasonableness and temper in him to take it kindly. Be as much as possible in his company for that reason, and suffer him not to be in any public house after the allowed hours.

I shall write to the council to represent how it is taken that there is no settled revenue in the province to answer the exigencies of government, especially for a governor, a judge, and an attorney-general: without this be gone in hand with, I fear our own enemies there will have but too plausible a pretence against us here, especially in war time.

Pray represent this to Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Griffith Owen, &c., &c. I fear we shall have none of our laws that we most desire; and but an ordinary bargain shall I be able to make for them or myself if they will not go

[1] The proclamation about the money was duly published, but the people do not as yet regard it: there is not a man in the province but takes money at the old rate. — *Letter of James Logan.* — L.

to a small custom on imports and exports, and an excise. I can't bear the burden as I have done these twenty-two years, save when I was last with you; that foolish covetousness of theirs is so far from good husbandry, that it will be found money ill-saved at long run. I fear laws will be made here to rule us there, if we are so stout and stingy; but I will say no more of this, save if we had done like men we had not been now in the precarious circumstances we are.

I hope by this time thou hast got in the £1,000 of S. Carpenter subscribed by the people for my support, as also the 2,000, and the remainder of the customs and excise, and if so, send it not over, unless in valuable goods; and mind, pray and get me clear and easy in my private capacity as well as the public affairs of government; for I have been involved by my public spiritedness both there, and to be sure here; once more, pray expedite the sale of my daughter's lands and lots, and disengage me from the interest I am to afford till paid; if it be delayed I shall think myself wronged.

The wind has come about, and I must break off; but before I do, pray let me have no more money laid out at Pennsbury, and see that its produce, at least, defrays its charges; and since my son aims at thy company more than any other thing, pray let him be constantly with thee and not keep any expense at Pennsbury, at entertainments, &c.

William Penn to James Logan.

6th-mo., 1703.

[Extracts from a decayed letter from William Penn, and probably dated about this period: it is superscribed, "To my trusty and well-beloved friend, James Logan, secretary of the government and proprietary of Pennsylvania, America." — L.]

. . . . I am solicited about George Fox's gift — indeed it was mine to him; and therefore must take the liberty to say, that for the request I a little admire at it. The most considerable of those who sign it must know it was so; I shall willingly allow a field of twenty acres, or twenty-five acres for Friends' use, out

of liberty lands, near any[1] meeting; but to allow it out of the city lots is what I will never do, unless I was upon the spot. I still remember the collops cut out of my own and my son's and daughter's concerns in my former absence, and will suffer none of those things to be acted again. I have not forgot lot N. N., where our meeting-house stands;[2] it was reserved for Tishe, who, as per the list, it appears is without any High Street lot at all, now that is gone. I know who urge these difficulties upon me, but alas, they are in the power of one greater than I am to humble, distress, and bring them to reflection; one would think the hand of God had been so legible upon them; one in the loss of an only lovely jewel,[3] and the other of his Christian and civil reputation, which ought so to mark him as never to be employed in either civil or church capacity, till a pure repentance[4] and purgation has restored him: in short, make this matter as easy as may be, the land granted from the mill at town's end would have done the business.[5] . . . . However, I will have his name who honored truth above all men (George Fox) and loved me, but in my own way and time. I will not be dictated to. I can satisfy thee I have writ to none anything that can give them the least occasion against thee.

The gentleman[6] who brings this is constituted Judge of the

[1] On the Germantown Road, around Fairhill meeting-house, was the lot allowed as George Fox's bequest to the Society of Friends. — L.

[2] At the time of this letter Friends had a meeting-house near the Centre Square, High Street. N. N. means not numbered. The lot was at the S. W. corner of Market and Second Streets, where Friends' meeting-house formerly stood: granted in Gov. Markham's time. — L.

[3] The person here alluded to was probably David Lloyd, whose controversy with the proprietor was well known, and will hereafter be much spoken of in this work. He lost his only child, a son, about this time, in a very affecting manner. His wife, a most excellent woman, was sister to Lawrence Growdon, of Bucks County. — L.

[4] This repentance appears to have taken place: the person here meant forsook all public employment and became religious. — L.

[5] [The Globe Mill afterward stood on its site. — EDITOR.]

[6] [*Extract of a letter from Samuel Preston.*]

"PHILADELPHIA, 13*th* 6*th-mo.*, 1703.

. . . . to the no small surprise (undoubtedly) of Col. Quary, arrived here, as soon (or before) report, one Roger Mompesson, Judge

Admiralty of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, and is yet willing to be my attorney-general, to rectify matters in law, and to put you into better methods; in which respect he is, by the judicious here, thought to be very able. Get him a suitable, sober house to diet in, as well as lodge. If you were together, 't were for thy advantage in many respects. It is a moderate churchman, knows the world here, has been in two several Parliaments, and recorder of Southampton; only steps abroad to ease his fortune of some of his father's debts, he was early unwarily engaged for. It is a favorite of Lord Cornbury's father, the Earl of Clarendon. I have granted him a commission for chief justice, in case the people will lay hold of such an opportunity as no government in America ever had before, of an English lawyer, and encourage him by a proper salary of at least £100, if not 150, per annum; for [obliterated] his business chiefly relates to their property and that [obliterated].

My son (having life) resolves to be with you per first opportunity. His wife, this day week, was delivered of a fine boy, as I found when I came home in the evening, and which he has called William; so that now we are major, minor, and minimus. I bless the Lord, mine are pretty well: Johnne lively, Tommee a lovely, large child, and my grandson Springett a mere Saracen, his sister a beauty. For news, domestic and foreign, I refer thee to the bearer, above all books and persons that have gone hence to you, excepting only those who have gone on truth's account. We are generally well and easy. Jn. Hignal, T. Gilpin Perrin, deceased. Give my love to all Friends and to officers in government; my remembrance also to T. S. and Mary, of whose care and faithfulness I have no doubt. My wife joins me in the same, and to thyself, with a frequent remembrance

for the Admiralty; famed a man of great abilities, free, it is said, from prejudices or party, of integrity, friendly to Governor Penn, and as it is thought, like to be a happiness to this place."

The singularity of the name has made me fancy this gentleman was the son of the pious and courageous rector of Eyam, who, in discharging the duties of his station in a humbler sphere, appears to have been actuated by the same philanthropic and Christian spirit as the good Bishop of Marseilles or the humane Howard. See the first volume of Anne Seward's Letters. — L.

of thy diligence for us, and a concern that nothing is now sent thee as a token thereof, which yet shall be, if possible; only I have sent some hats, one for Griffith Owen, and the other intended for Edward Shippen, which thou mayest take, with this just excuse, that the brim being too narrow for his age and height, I intend him one with a larger brim; for as soon as I saw it I told the friend who made it [obliterated] I thought it handsome, though I pinch here, to be sure. If my son sends hounds, as he has provided two or three couple of choice ones for deer, foxes, and wolves, pray let care be taken of them, and J. Sotcher quarter them about, as with young Biles, &c. I also recommend Randall Janney to thee, about the Susquehanna purchase, to use him easily and kindly therein; of all which more by my son; but if that should prove within Baltimore bounds, I should make a county for him; but I think to fasten that matter with Anthony Sharp. I add no more, but my good wishes, and leave all to the secret will-ordering of my good God, and close. Thy real friend, WILLIAM PENN.

[Part of a letter of some of the members of council to W. Penn. It has no date, but seems to belong to this period.—L.][1]

May it please the proprietary and governor, the mournful account of the late lieutenant governor's decease having by this time reached thee, as well from the secretary as others, we think ourselves obliged to acquaint thee with the circumstances and proceedings thereupon:

Soon as a council could meet after the governor's interment, we published our commission, on the 4th 3d-mo., with a resolution, to act in all things absolutely necessary for the present support of government, in pursuance of the powers, till further provision could be made.

But not long after, viz., on the 17th of the same month, Col.

[1] [This appears to have been written after the 9th of 5th-mo., 1703, and before the 2d of 7th-mo., 1703. Mrs. Logan subsequently states that Penn's letter of 31st 10th-mo., 1703, was probably an answer to it. — EDITOR.]

Quary produced to us, then sitting, an order of the Queen in council, requiring all magistrates and officers in this government to take the oath directed by the law of England, or the affirmation allowed by the said law to Quakers; and that no judge be allowed to sit upon the bench who shall not first take the oath of a judge, or, in lieu thereof, the afore-mentioned affirmation, as directed by the law of England; also, that all persons who in England are obliged, or are willing, to take an oath, in any public or judicial proceeding, be admitted so to do, otherwise all their proceedings are declared to be null and void.

With this order, by directions from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, as Col. Quary declared, all the courts in the government were served successively, as they came; from which some among us, who too much make it their business to obstruct all our affairs, for their own sinister ends, took occasion to endeavor a stop to the proceedings of the courts at that time, notwithstanding all the magistrates of this and most of the counties had really taken all those oaths or affirmations, as directed by the said order, upon their admission to their respective places.

But because of two of our counties of the province, viz., Chester and Bucks, it will be very difficult, and in Bucks almost impossible, to find a sufficient number of fit persons to make a quorum of justices, that will take or administer an oath: it will be a very great hardship there to have none on the bench but such as can swear; for our Friends can no more be concerned in administering an oath than they can take one; and in all actions where the case pinches either party, if they can, from any corner of the government, bring in an evidence that demands an oath, the cause must either drop, or a fit number of persons must be there, always, to administer it, though only, perhaps, on account of such an evidence; a hardship upon a people consisting chiefly of those that cannot swear at all, that we presume had never been put upon us in those cases if fully understood.

The order, however, appearing positive, several powers, or writs of *dedimus protestatem*, for the qualification of the magistrates, were necessary, which must be issued by the council; but we ourselves not being qualified, it was objected that there

was a necessity for us first to take what the laws required, especially that enjoined by the 7th or 8th of William III. for the security of trade; for administering of which to the governor of this place, a *dedimus*, under the great seal of England, is directed to Col. Quary, Richard Halliwell, John Moore, and Jasper Yeates, and two more absent or deceased. For answering this, letters were sent by us to the persons named, desiring them to attend the council on the 29th 4th-mo., to which time it was delayed by Col. Quary's absence, in order to discharge what was enjoined by the said *dedimus* and order of the Queen.

Accordingly they came; first, for some time, insisting upon the surrender of, into their own hands, [that] which before had been kept with the records of the government. Upon their engagement to return it, it was delivered to them, and they withdrew to consult what was proper for them to do.

About an hour after returning, they delivered up the *dedimus* again, as they had engaged, but told the council that, unless five of us, which number makes a quorum, would take the oath in express words, as directed, they could not administer it to fewer.

It was insisted on that it should be administered to such of the council as could swear, who were only two, and that if nothing else did, yet the Queen's order, which Col. Quary had produced, gave liberty that an affirmation should be taken in all cases of magistracy where the person could not take the oath; and, therefore, if such should swear who could, and the others, who in conscience could not, took the affirmation as required by the law of England, to the same effect, it might fully answer to this, that there might be no obstruction to business and the administration of justice. They were urged, but constantly refused, and thereupon withdrew; after which, one of them, viz., Richard Halliwell, insultingly made his boast that they had now laid the government on its back, and left it sprawling, unable to move hand or foot.

But the said *dedimus* being also directed to five of the council, and the collector of the customs for the port of Philadelphia, as well as to the others before named, we called the collector, and required of him, upon the others' refusal, to discharge his duty

in this case. But Col. Quary, having some influence over him by reason of his office as surveyor-general of the river, had sent to him before, and warned him not to meddle, upon which he also at that time refused.

But not only some of our own lawyers, but those in the neighborhood, viz., J. Regnier, eminent for his skill, taking some pains to inform him, [said] that it was indispensably his duty to administer the oath, when required, to as many as would take it. Being sent for again, he complied, and on the 16th 5th-mo. administered it in council to Judge Guest and Captain Finney; and the rest of us, who could not swear, generally took and subscribed an affirmation according to the law of England and the Queen's order, which was the utmost we could do.

This obstruction being surmounted, much to the disappointment of our adversaries, we proceeded to transact what was of immediate necessity before us; but through these men's restless endeavors find it extremely difficult fully to discharge the duties of government incumbent upon us, they taking all advantages of throwing in our way whatever may perplex us, by reason of oaths and such other things as are inconsistent with the principles of most of us; besides that, many things occur in the administration of government according to the law of England, if no immunities by our own laws must in these cases be allowed, that cannot well be executed by men of our profession.

We doubt not but, according to the customs of these men, they have been exhibiting complaints against us, occasions for them being what they daily court, and when by their endeavors by any means brought to bear, they greedily lay hold of them.

Governor Hamilton, last winter, issued a commission of oyer and terminer for the county of Philadelphia, to Judge Guest, Captain Finney, and Edward Farmer. The trials were, by commission, required to be wholly by oaths, because some of the provincial judges had been tender of trying them otherwise, some of the prisoners being upon their lives; but the attorney-general (J. Moore) then left us, instead of discharging his duty in prosecuting for the Queen; rode out of town; and such effectual endeavors have been used with the persons impanelled for the juries — being chiefly those called churchmen, and such

as would take oaths — that not one of them would serve, but positively refused. The same methods have also been used in Philadelphia to prevent all persons from enlisting themselves in the militia under the said governor's commission last year; yet we are credibly informed that they have complained as well of the small appearance of men in the militia as of the people being tried only by affirmation, though those complainants themselves were the causes of both.

Their plot is to have the whole ministry to be in confusion, and that thereupon it will be absolutely necessary to be taken into the Queen's more immediate care: to this end they magnify every small occurrence when they can have the least ground, and scruple not to make, where they find none, as Col. Quary has lately done to the Lord Cornbury in a letter, as that nobleman himself declared, affirming that we were reduced to such confusion that we had no government at all, or to that effect; with a design to induce that lord, who we presume has more honor, to represent it home upon Quary's information, that it may there gain the greater credit; but should it be so represented, we affirm 't is positively false, and shall take occasion to acquaint the Lord Cornbury accordingly.

It is also intended, we are informed, to be made the subject of a complaint, that one Burges, lieutenant to Captain Pulleyn, commander of the ——,[1] Captain Dampiers's companion in his intended expedition to the South Seas, lately brought in a prize that the said ship had taken in the Canaries, laden with wheat, into our capes, and that the said Burges going on shore at Lewes was not seized with his ship; she had twelve guns and fifteen men, mostly English, and though there was no reason to discredit the master and men's reports, yet it was believed they had left Captain Pulleyn upon some unfair design, an account of this being brought to Philadelphia, in the worst dress, whilst the Lord Cornbury was here on his visit to us from Burlington, on his accession to his government: there, upon a consultation with the said Lord Cornbury, it was thought fit that he, as vice-admiral of Jersey, should issue his commission for seizing and bringing her up, and that a vessel and men for that end be fur-

[1] [Blank in Mrs. Logan's copy. — EDITOR.]

nished from this place, in order to which preparations were forthwith made, but another vessel cruising up the river brought advice that the prize had sailed; and we since hear by the post from New York that the said Capt. Burges had carried her in thither, and is to have her legally condemned as his prize.

One would admire what consequences could be drawn from hence, but we understand the complaint is, that she might as well have proved a rogue as honest, and therefore the county should have seized her, according to the advice of the collector there, who being youthful and active was very brisk in endeavoring it, though not with so ready a concurrence as desired from the inhabitants, who, perceiving her to be no enemy and of some force, were unwilling, as we are informed, to expose themselves in a hazardous undertaking without seeing any reasonable cause for it, or any probability of advantage or safety from it. We, indeed, of Philadelphia, upon the first information feared that it might prove worse, for it was represented to us under some surprise, which caused these preparations: our readiness towards which the said Lord Cornbury promised he would say to the Queen, or ministry; but the whole proving better than expected, and the vessel being gone, it dropped: only we have thought fit to turn out the sheriff of that place, upon complaint of his refractory behavior to the collector, in this and some other cases; but if he or any other there be found deficient in their duty, we hope these are some of the men who employed Col. Quary in their behalf to complain against thee and this government, and therefore will not be imputed to the Quakers here, there not being at that time above one in the place, for Wm. Clark was then, as now, at Philadelphia.

However, because occasions are continually taken from our circumstances, chiefly upon our late governor's decease, all which might have been we hope effectually stopped upon the arrival of his approbation by the Queen, had he lived, we must earnestly request thee that thou wouldst procure some fit person, of moderation and temper, who can fully comply in all points of government with the law of England, to be approved by the Queen, and take the government wholly upon him; that such men as those — Col. Quary and John Moore especially we mean — who have no interest, not one foot of real estate that

we know of in the place, but seek the overthrow of the first adventurers here for their own sinister ends, may not longer insult over us, nor be suffered to make continual war upon the just rights and privileges of both thyself and the people. And we beseech thee more effectually to represent our case, with thy own, to our sovereign, the Queen, whose justice and tenderness to all her loving subjects we are well assured would lead her, if acquainted with our circumstances, to protect us from the designs of those men, who for the sake of aggrandizing themselves by places, without any regard for the true interest of her colonies, endeavor to deprive us of our just rights, and injuriously become, in a great measure, the masters of the toil and labors of an industrious people, who first embarked in a design of settling this colony, in a full expectation of enjoying the privileges first proposed to them, without infraction. None are more willing to pay obedience to the crown, in all things in our power, none can acquit themselves with more fidelity; and therefore we would in all humility hope we shall not be excluded from any share of our royal mistress's benign influence that others of her subjects happily enjoy, and that thou also would be favorably pleased to use thy endeavors for obtaining it, not only for thy own just interest, but for those also of the people that have embarked with thee, and, among the rest, of thy most faithful friends,

EDWARD SHIPPEN, WILLIAM CLARK,
GRIFFITH OWEN, CALEB PUSEY,
SAMUEL CARPENTER, THOMAS STORY.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *2d September*, 1703.

HONORED GOVERNOR:—By Edward Shippen and Capt. Puckle, who sailed hence about the beginning of the 5th-mo., and from Virginia about the end of it, besides my larger packets, I had just time from New Castle to inform of Judge Mompesson's arrival in the Messenger, and Randal Janney in the Jolly Galley, since which are also arrived young Lock and Millar, all our

own vessels from London; the last not till six weeks after the first: Wm. Burge also, in J. Guy, a vessel of our own from Milford; so that we have six safely arrived, a happiness that neither New England nor York can boast.

. . . . . .

Affairs of government I shall not now so closely meddle with, leaving it to the large letter signed by the council, only must still press thee to furnish us with a lieutenant governor with all possible expedition, otherwise thy interests will suffer; for through Gov. Hamilton's decease, and the Queen's late order, we are exceedingly perplexed, and much admire at thy entire silence of the latter: if thou hast never seen it, a copy comes inclosed: it has, through the restless endeavors of our adversaries, who take all opportunities to work on the weak side of such in the magistracy as they can prevail on, given us great trouble, and occasions adjournments of our courts most unaccountably in the province; but in the territories, where they are mostly jurors, there is no obstruction, but all things regular.

I mentioned in my last by way of Boston, 9th 5th-mo., the necessity I thought there would be for a new commission to the council, but now fear the adverse party have received so much encouragement and hopes from the Lord Cornbury's late visit to this place, that it will be difficult to engage any of the churchmen to serve; and the impossibility of giving Judge Mompesson sufficient encouragement to settle among us, till an assembly can be held, will, I doubt, with the endeavors used for that purpose at York, keep that gentleman too much from among us to be sufficient to our advantage, or to answer the designs of making him our president.[1]

He is now returning from Boston, but will stay at York till their supreme court is over, which will be in 8br. If any encouragement offer, however, he will, I suppose, winter with us, being well satisfied with the place; he is ingenious, able, honest, and might be a great blessing to us could we enjoy it.

The Lord Cornbury on the 10th or 11th ult. published his commission for the Jerseys at Amboy, and on the 13th at Bur-

[1] [That is, of the council. — EDITOR.]

lington. E. Shippen, with W. Clark and most of the council, and a number of Friends — about twenty — went to wait on him at Burlington, on the 13th, but not being arrived so soon as we, we met him three miles beyond the town. Col. Quary with a party of his gang went out the day before, and met him at Page's. He lodged at Tatham's[1] House, and was entertained by

[1] Lord Cornbury, in his progress from Amboy, must have passed Burlington and have crossed the river into Pennsylvania, to have lodged at Tatham's house, which was in Bucks County on the Neshaminy. The estate was afterwards called Trevor, the seat of Joseph Galloway, Esq., in right of his wife, the daughter of Lawrence Growdon, Esq. — L.

[Mrs. Logan appears to have inferred that Lord Cornbury crossed the Delaware into Bucks County, Pennsylvania, because a house belonging to Mr. Tatham was situated in that county. We are of opinion that the property referred to by her was that which was the subject of the legal proceedings of which we shall presently speak. The house in which Cornbury lodged was probably that belonging to the heirs of John Tatham, and which, in 1711, was purchased of one of them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It stood in Burlington, and at the time of Cornbury's visit was in the occupation of Thomas Revel, who never was a resident of Bucks County. John Tatham was appointed in 1690, by the proprietaries, governor of the Jerseys. Smith says he was a "Jacobite," but did not know whether he resided in East or West Jersey.

The proceedings of which we have spoken are those mentioned in the minutes of the Provincial Council of December 11, 1704. "A petition from Thomas Revel, at Burlington, in the province New Jersey, executor in trust and guardian for the children of John Tatham, late of Burlington aforesaid, esqr., and of Elizab., his wife, deceased, was read, showing that the petit. in behalf of the aforesaid children, having commenced an action against Jos. Growdon, of this province, about the title of a certain tract of land in Bucks, possessed by the said Joseph, and had served him with a declaration in ejectment, at y^e^ court of the said county, and waited for a tryal for near 3 years, yet was put off from court to court, and at length positively denyed; whereupon, he prays that some effectual means may be ordered to bring the matter to a fair hearing and tryal.

"Ordered, that John Moore, attorney for the said Revel, and David Lloyd, attorney for the said Growdon, be ordered to attend 3d-day next week, that the matter of the said petition may be further inquired into."

The final action of the council does not appear, but the reason given for hitherto resisting a trial is curious, and more particularly so considering the source from which it came. "John Moore, in behalf of the petitioner, informed the board what endeavors has been used to bring the

T. Revel there. Next morning, Col. Quary, with the rest of the churchmen, congratulated him, having the easiest access, and afterwards presented an address from the vestry of Philadelphia, who now consist, I think, of twenty-four, requesting his patronage to the church, and closing with a prayer that he would beseech the Queen, as I was credibly informed, to extend his government over this province; and Col. Quary also, in his first congratulatory address, said they hoped they also should be partakers of the happiness Jersey enjoyed in his government.

In answer to the vestry's address, he spoke what was proper from a churchman, to the main design of it, for he is very good at extemporary speeches; and to their last request, that it was their business — meaning to address the Queen, I suppose — but that when his mistress would be pleased to lay her commands on him, he would obey them with alacrity. Edward Shippen, with the council and other friends present, also addressed him, inviting him civilly to Philadelphia, and to take up at his old lodging there, viz., his house; but he replied that Col. Quary had engaged him long before at New York, to be his guest when he came this way, otherwise he should willingly accept of it; but he had last year given him and me but too much trouble, for which he heartily thanked us. I invited him also to make use of thy barge, which, upon that occasion, believing it must soon after, if not then, be done for Mr. Wm., I had caused to be launched, new caulked, and painted, a repair absolutely necessary to her, for she was hurt with lying dry; and I now design to keep her floating in a dock or gut, and build a shed over her; but being Col. Quary's guest, he did not accept of her, upon which I sent her directly to Pennsbury.

Perceiving this, I could not but be moved at it; and going to S. Jennings, with some warmth, I wrote him a letter, of which a copy is inclosed, and very soon after had it presented. I know not whether it may please thee, but showing it to such members

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matter in difference to a tryal, by a declaration in ejectment; and *David Lloyd*, in behalf of the defendant, argued that that method of trial being *fictitious was inconsistent with our laws*, and offered other methods," &c., &c. — 2 *Col. Records*, 179, 180; 5 *Doc. relating to Colonial Hist. of New York*, 316; *Smith's Hist. New Jersey*, 191. — EDITOR.]

of the council as were at hand, and others of the best judgment, whom I could confide in, it met with an entire approbation, though done in more haste than was suitable for such an attempt.

That night he came to Philadelphia. The next day, being the first of the week, he went to their worship. The same day came an account of a ship below,[1] mentioned in the council's letter, favorably represented at first, but worse after; upon which, early next morning, a council met, and came to the conclusion there mentioned, but first resolved, as a council, to wait on and consult with the Lord Cornbury, who had taken great notice of the report, and sent for S. Rowland, who brought the information; which report, and our inability to take effectual measures upon it, failed not of being highly aggravated by Col. Quary and those about him; but after the resolution taken, and encouragement given, as desired, for getting a sufficient number of hands, a vessel very happily came up the river, and informed that the ship had sailed five days before. That day he dined at J. Moore's, who had prevented Edward Shippen's second invitation, by being too early for him; and I waited on him, after dinner, to learn his sentiments about the ship; sat down in the company, where a discourse arose of the Indians, and a complaint was made of J. Le Tort returning from Canada, as I mentioned in that per E. Shippen, jr., and being suffered to live at large; as also of P. Barzalion, who by chance was then in town. Going out, I unexpectedly met J. Le Tort about the door, passing by, whom I therefore brought in, requesting the Lord Cornbury himself to examine him, as we, I told him, had effectually done before. I told him also that all the French traders in the country were then in town; and seeing those gentlemen had been so ready to complain, I put it to them to say what they could advise to be done with them; but till much urged to it, they were very silent. Upon the whole, the Lord Cornbury, thinking it too hard to confine them in close durance, advised us to take security of them for their good behavior toward the government, and forthcoming when called for, which I promised, or that, upon refusal, they should be confined.

[1] [See 2 Col. Rec., p. 98. — Editor.]

Next morning the council sitting, they gave security, in £500 each. E. Farmer stood for J. Le Tort, and T. Murray for P. Bazalion. That morning Lord Cornbury breakfasted with Edward Shippen, and was handsomely entertained, after which he returned to Burlington, accompanied with Col. Quary and others, in a boat, and Edward Shippen, W. Clark, Judge Guest, and myself in another, with several other boats. There we left him. As to my using the style of my lord in the letter, 't is no more than what S. Jennings and other Friends here frequently do.

'T is now but manifest, I think, that he designs to have this government, if to be effected, annexed to his; and no doubt his backing Quary's representations will be a great strength to the design. This appears by his ordering the collector of Lewes, who, intending hither from thence the next day after the said ship came in there, but upon her account staid somewhat longer, came up very soon after, to draw up a narrative of the whole matter, and deliver it to Col. Quary, which he did, not very partially I believe. Copies of this narrative the said Quary has taken with him to Virginia, for which place he set out from hence yesterday. He is of the council for Jersey, opposed Friends there much, and endeavored to obstruct S. Jennings, Francis Davenport, and George Deacon, nominated for the council by the Queen, to be admitted, unless they would swallow the abjuration oath, *totidem verbis*, but was opposed by Lewis Morris, first of the council, who hates him and all his party; all of note in East Jersey also are of the same mind, and repine at the yoke they have brought upon themselves in joining with those of York in their prayers, who groan to find their deliverer prove so heavy. Many would be glad the Queen, his cousin, would be graciously pleased to give him a better post, nearer home, being touched that no man of sense can be admitted near him; for though really a man of good parts himself, he has not one such about him. Besides that, a great man has great necessities. The commission for the Jerseys startled all that heard it published, who can entertain a thought above either being slaves themselves, or making others so, for their own sacrilegious lucre.

Bass[1] acts in quality of a secretary, much against the good liking of most of note in that government. Those of Jersey resolved to oppose the records being put in his hands to their utmost. Lewis Morris broke his head the first day they met, which they say gave offence, being then both of the company that waited on their governor. He is come over without his commission, which exposes him to the ridicule of his enemies.

He reports here that thou art making terms for thy government, and demands of the Queen £10,000 to surrender. The thought of having rascals and such birds of prey set over us would congeal any honest man's blood; but were it possible for a man of honor to be advanced at court, or any but hungry starvelings to be sent hither, thou would not lose by a good composition. But then care should be taken, I hope, of the immunities of the people, and thy own interest, otherwise we are unhappy.

In this state of war, Friends cannot possibly hold it: the enemy round us is very vigilant and industrious in debauching

[1] [Col. Jeremiah Basse in 1698 succeeded Hamilton as governor of the Jerseys, the government having passed into the hands of the crown. His authority to act was, however, questioned, because his appointment had not received his Majesty's approval, although it appears he had been tacitly recognized by the Lords of Trade. His career was far from being peaceful, although probably the conduct of others may have as much contributed to this result as his own. He appears to have enjoyed varying degrees of popularity; he was at one time secretary of the province, and at another surveyor of the customs at Burlington. After his removal to the county of Cape May, he became a member of the Assembly of 1716, and in 1719 the attorney-general of the province. He was a strenuous supporter of the commercial privileges of Perth Amboy as a port of entry over those of New York, having issued a proclamation in support of them in defiance of the proclamation of the Earl of Bellomont; from this circumstance several merchants, about 1698, left the former place and removed to Perth Amboy, with the "object of importing all sorts of merchandise free from duty." He died in 1725, and bequeathed to the church of St. Mary, at Burlington, and to Christ Church, at Philadelphia, should the former be without a rector, a legacy to secure the preaching of two sermons yearly, that is, upon Easter Sunday and Whitsunday, the subject to be a topic mentioned in his will. The reader will find some additional information concerning this person in Whitehead's "East Jersey under the Proprietors," and in "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York.—*Prov. Courts of N. J., by Hon.* R. S. Field."—Editor.]

the Indians. By last post we have accounts from New England that the French and Indians, joining to the eastward, have cut off several settlements, and killed and carried away 150 souls, a sore, unexpected blow.[1] The governor having, even this summer, made peace by a solemn treaty with those very savages who have been chiefly concerned in the mischief. They are at open war with them now, having proclaimed it at Boston about fifteen days ago. The French have also settled among the Five Nations, now at peace with them, and have their emissaries everywhere round us; those of Connecticut also are like to break with the English there, as letters by the same post inform us. Indian Harry, of Conostogoe, is now here, and acquaints us with the great endeavors of the French, but I have not fully discoursed with him. Lord Cornbury is now going to Albany to meet the Five Nations, the middle of this month, by appointment; but at the same some of their chiefs, we are told, are coming hither to treat about the death of the king, that died at Lechay (Lehigh) about three years ago. I cannot guess the meaning of it as yet, nor like their absence from Albany, by design, at this juncture. There have certainly been spies among us lately, and Canada, unless effectually prevented by an attack upon themselves, are likely to make all these colonies in a little time very uneasy. I speak not this through any cowardly apprehensions: I set a distance on it to others, for, seeing we are no ways able to take any measures to secure ourselves, to own the danger is but to expose us; but men of sense see it too well, and when we are so highly charged, as we are lately, especially

[1] [While other colonies and provinces were ravaged, ours always escaped any general slaughter and devastation: an exemption due to the policy of peace inaugurated by the proprietary and continued by his successors. Repeated acts of hospitality, the frequent renewals of treaties of friendship, and the persistent good offices of the "Friendly Association," kept alive the remembrance of this policy of peace, and though its permanency was at one time threatened by a breach of faith and an act of overreaching ever to be deplored, bloodshed fortunately did not follow. The Indian of that day, always sagacious, observant, and reflective, knew whom to censure, and never forgot the kindness of those who, with some sacrifice, and much odium, misconception, and misrepresentation, steadfastly and consistently, for conscience' sake, adhered to the faith and practice of the founder. — EDITOR.]

by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Doctor Bridges, of York, and some others at J. M.'s table, while I was there, before Lord Cornbury. I wish thee could find more to say for our lying so naked and defenceless. I always used the best argument I could, and when I pleaded that we were a peaceable people, had wholly renounced war, and the spirit of it; that we were willing to commit ourselves to the protection of God alone, in an assurance that the sword can neither be drawn, nor sheathed but by his direction; that the desolations made by it are the declaration of his wrath alone, and that those who will not [use] the sword, but, by an entire resignation commit themselves to his all-powerful providence, shall never need it, but be safe under a more sure defence than any worldly arm — when I pleaded this, I really spoke my sentiments; but this will not answer in English government, nor the methods of this reign. Their answer is, that should we lose our lives only, it would be little to the crown, seeing 't is our doing, but others are involved with us, and should the enemy make themselves master of the country it would too sensibly touch England in the rest of her colonies. This must be weighed, but still I hope some measures may be taken as will prevent these base men from becoming our masters.

But what shall we say? Almighty Providence seems to be preparing the most dreadful scenes throughout the universe. Rage and fury are commissioned to carry desolation through the earth, and few will be the doors, I doubt, it will not visit. The most secure may find their enemies, and the most naked be protected. Austria, one would have thought, lay safely to the westward, and that as well as France, waging a distant war, no only their confines need to fear a disturbance near them, yet both we see, have got an enemy, one within their bowels, and the other close adjoining. The whole earth, I believe, at least what is miscalled the Christian world, must undergo a universal visitation and be shaken together like brittle potsherds: happy are they who can look up to and behold the hand of the Lord in it, and, throwing their whole confidence on him alone, pray that his will be done whatever becomes of us, and his great work be effected. 'T is He that has lighted a fire in the nations, and will purge the lands; but whether 't is those of the inner court that

are to be gathered, or those of the outer to be scattered, He only knows; but I believe the latter, that the other may stand to be a witness for his name that righteousness may not be entirely swept from the earth, or the knowledge of him from among the people.

The Lord make those in this province truly his own, and such as are called by his name to be truly his. I believe we shall be secure in a true dependence upon him, and take not up the sword. But those men of arms will be amongst us, and then will be the trial from them on the one hand, and the enemy, I doubt not, on the other; and this must be, that those who bear his name may be proved. But this discourse will come very unexpectedly from me, and I suppose, and is, beside my business; yet I can truly say 't is what has often filled my heart; and I have been made a witness of the necessity of retiring from the world and withdrawing our hearts from all human dependencies, and hope it will please God to extend his goodness towards me to a consummation of grace.

Having spent so much on the preceding, I shall now be briefer; only must add on the subject of government, that last third-day, the 31st ult., being court day at Chester, a *dedimus* was sent from the council, directed to one Walter Martin, a sober, good man, to administer the affirmations, &c., required by the Queen's order, copies of all which, being that of fidelity, that of abjuring the Pope's supremacy, and the test, were sent down to him before, with another *dedimus* to qualify the magistrates of the corporation. The judges presenting the *dedimus* to him, he readily agreed to discharge what was enjoined, and went to Jasper Yeates for those copies which he had left there, but there met with arguments and persuasions which prevailed on him to the contrary: the chief was, that there was another oath besides those now sent, viz., that of the abjuration of the Prince of Wales, son of James II., which he must administer also; and because this was not sent with the rest, he could administer none; but that oath, or the act that enjoined it, not extending to us, unless she should positively order it, as she has done in the commission to Lord Cornbury, none here are under an obligation to take it. 'Tis true, in Jersey they take it, because

required in the commission. This was a strenuous endeavor to prevent the court sitting, that so they may be strengthened in their complaint, and represent us as in confusion.

That is their whole plot. Some of them pretend authority from the Lords of Trade to inspect our actions, and use this authority to no other end than to perplex and disturb our government; and sure we are in a miserable case if no care be taken of us from home but for our destruction, and none be employed among us but our professed adversaries. Sure our superiors cannot intentionally be such hard masters. We hold our courts notwithstanding, I hope in spite of all their endeavors, though their whole study be our ruin. . . . .

[The writer, in reference to the seizure of Butterworth's vessel and of some contraband goods put on board, observes:]

If they complain of any in the government here, in this affair, I will prove them to be in this, as in the rest, unworthy, base men. We take all possible care to avoid giving occasions; but men study to find them, and, if they cannot, make them of nothing, whatever be the consequence. I wrote, in my first per the Messenger, I can do nothing in the old Spaniard's business,[1] for those it was left with never did anything after thou wast gone; and Governor Hamilton, though I never pressed anything more in my life in this government, still neglected it, that is, did not more than thou hast already heard, viz., offered, before S. Perez, his interpreter, to assign him counsel, who should, gratis, prosecute his action; but he would not stay nor accept of it. This the governor thought fully acquitted the government, as doubtless it did, and therefore never touched it further. Through the hurry of business at that time, I was a stranger to the examinations. I will see, however, what Isaac Norris can do.

I do not know how we can empower Wm. Hall, of Salem. We must first, I suppose, clear it of Dr. Coxe's claim, who is now big against the Quakers, and Lord Cornbury's great friend. In West Jersey they are making a new purchase from the Indians, in which thou wilt have a considerable share. Samuel

[1] This, and Lumbey's case, so often mentioned in these letters, may serve to show the anxiety of William Penn that none should suffer injustice under his government. — L.

Jennings demands £75 of me for thy proportion, which, by some means or other, I shall furnish him with. He will not, I hope, neglect thy interest.

. . . . . .

When I meet with anything fit for presents, I will secure it. I have now sent one Indian painted buckskin, in a present by itself, directed to thee, and shall send others as they offer.

There are no cranberries now. Melons would not keep ten days; and the freight of apples would be intolerable, to pay 40 shillings for a barrel. . . . . I thank thee for thy tender advice, and hope I shall observe it, and that it will please God to raise and continue in me a true sense of the state of things. . . . .

[The next paragraph contains an account of the difference between Thomas Story and himself, in which he thought himself unworthily used, and adds:] There was no help for its being made public, unless I would submit to the highest injustice against myself. I would willingly have referred it to indifferent persons to judge between us, but nothing but a public meeting, or to answer his peremptory demands at once, would do. I should not mention this, were it not already too public; and do it to my grief, not on my own account, for I am well satisfied that in the close it will do me more good than hurt, but for the sake of public affairs; in these, however, we never clash. . . . . It will be all over, I hope, before thy son's arrival, who, I fear, may be injured by it, and therefore would rather have him softened towards him, notwithstanding T. S.'s bitterness towards me.[1] . . . .

I hope thy son will square to the seriousness of the best people here; if not, I shall be exposed to great difficulties. I shall do my utmost for his advantage, and would indeed be willing to suffer in some measure for him if he were benefited by it. . . . . We have observed orders about the company's land, but I would advise thee not to expect or depend on their releasing any part of their bargain unless thou canst procure it from under

[1] This difference was afterwards reconciled, when they corresponded on religious and philosophical subjects. — L.

their hands and seals; otherwise, when thou art gone, thy deed will absolutely take place against those that succeed thee, and may occasion great confusion. T. F. has been as favorable as possible in laying it out, but the manors, lots, and liberty land being expressly named without sealed releases, are not to be dispensed with. Pray take the opportunity before this property be changed by other sales.

Friends have again made application for George Fox's gift, and I have proposed their acceptance of a lot on the front, and another on the High Street, with their proportion of liberty land as other purchasers have, all of which I hope we shall find for them, and more than this I hope they will not crave: they now seem inclinable to this (accommodation.) . . . .

I know not whether Samuel Carpenter writes to thee by this opportunity. He has been much depressed of late in his spirits, about his incumbrances, which are heavy, for he pays no less than ——[1] per annum interest, as I judge from his own information. He has been very plain with me, though with but few others. He begs us, if possible, to take some measures to answer his draft on Josh. Grove, for he thinks he cannot himself do it. The great damp on trade, and the sale of land discourages him of the first. He has had very little this year. His undertaking in Bucks[2] has oppressed him much. I must

[1] [This is blank in Mrs. Logan's copy.—EDITOR.]

[2] There is a curious letter extant from Samuel Carpenter to his friend Jonathan Dickinson, giving a particular account of this improvement, which, as it tends to show the state of such things at the time, I am tempted to subjoin. The letter is dated 1705.—L.

"I understand by Isaac Norris, that thou art inclined to purchase something in this province for thy children, and it having been my lot to lay out myself much in this country, so that upon the falling off of trade and losses and disappointments many ways I have of late, and my endeavors to sell what I can to pay off debts, and, if it please God to spare my life, to disencumber myself before I die, which is, and hath been, very burdensome to me, so that, although I am possessed of a considerable estate, I am very uneasy, and look upon myself as very unhappy, and worse than those that are out of debt, although but mean, or have but little of this world's goods. My exercise and trouble is greater in that I find it a difficult matter to sell, though to a loss, there being but few able to buy, whereas, if I had such an estate in other countries, I might soon sell to pay my debts, and have enough to spare. The occasion of these are to make thee an offer of

draw to a close, but crave leave once more to beseech thee to make speedy provision for the government, and ease Friends

some things that I have, viz., a parcel of corn-mills and saw-mills at *Bristol*, over against Burlington. I think it was called *Buckingham* when thou wast here, within less than a quarter of a mile of the river Delaware, upon a creek where a vessel of good burthen may come to the tail of the mills to load or unload. There are at present two wheels and four cutter stones, and I intend another wheel, and one or two pair more of stones. The saw-mill and the corn-mill * in the same is new built, and the other corn-mills newly repaired, and are good. The dimensions of the saw-mill are 32 feet broad and 70 feet long, and stands on a bank somewhat like that of Philadelphia, where the water, when at highest, has about eight or nine feet head, and five feet fall, which is between thirteen and fourteen feet in all, to speak within compass. After it has passed through the saw-mill it comes to the corn-mill, an undershot, and grinds very well, so that we generally saw and grind together with the same water. We have two cranks upon the shaft of the saw-mill wheel, and two carriages, and can cut with one saw seven or eight hundred feet of inch boards in a day, and more sometimes, when the water is high, timber good and well followed, viz., 1,000 feet or more. With two saws together she will cut 12 or 15 hundred feet in a day, or in about 12 hours' time. There is belonging to these mills a pretty stream of water and constant supply to the corn-mills unless in a very dry summer; we sometimes are scant at the latter end of the summer, as many other mills are: last summer, and the summer and winter before, it was very dry, and we wanted at the latter end of the summer, but now we have enough, and so it is likely to continue. We have a large pond course, two or three hundred acres of ground, which is a great benefit to the mills. Hitherto we have not had full experience of what quantity of water we may have for the saw-mills yearly, but suppose we have enough to saw six months in a year, at least, it may be eight months or more, in which time suppose we may saw 150 or 200 thousand of boards, as the water may continue. I suppose the profits or earnings from the saw-mills may be near £400 a year, and from the corn-mills, now corn is low, £250 a year, or £650, out of which take one-third for tending, is near £220; add £30 a year for charges besides, (there) remains about £400, which is the interest of £5,000.

Besides these mills I have the islands that lie over against Burlington, adjacent a considerable quantity of lands and town lots, the whole being about 2,000 acres; the islands have about 350 acres, of which about one half may be made meadow; at present there is about twenty or thirty acres meadow; besides other meadow lands and pretty considerable improvements, and also a considerable quantity may be watered from the pond and will make good meadow, lying below the water to the quantity from 50 to 100 acres. There is a considerable quantity of white-oak timber upon part of the land to accommodate

* [The word "corn" was at this time used as applicable only to wheat, as now in England, and Indian corn was then called "maize." — EDITOR.]

of the intolerable hardships they lie under, in things their principles will not suffer them to be free in, as oaths and arms. The

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the saw-mill, for which end I bought the land where it stands, and the most of it is about three miles from the mills; it may with a reasonable charge, by making another pond, be floated down two miles, and some of it more, through the ponds to the mills, at a little charge of land carriage. I cannot be accurate in the quantity, but I have not seen a finer parcel in my travels, and I may modestly compute it to make several thousand when cut into ship plank and other scantling; and there is no danger but timber may be had in time to come, both oak and pine, floated up or down the river to the tail of the mills; it is wanted to supply Philadelphia in great quantities, and now more than ever. The next material conveniency is that these mills stand in a town but about a mile and a quarter from Burlington, and twenty from Philadelphia; and the corn-mills are well accustomed, and the towns and country adjacent and Philadelphia will take off the boards, scantling, plank, &c., for housework, ship, and joiners. We sell one-inch boards at the mill at 8 shillings per 100, at which rate we have four shillings or better for cutting. For good mills of both sorts, lands and meadows, situation and all things considered, there is not the like in these parts, and I believe if thou wast here, thou would like it as well, if not better than anything thou mayst find in this country. Because I am, as I said before, much in debt, I would sell the whole or one half, which thou please. I believe it stands me in about five thousand pounds, and is worth more, being, besides the yearly income of the mills, a growing estate; but being under necessity, I would sell to lose rather than miss so good a chapman and partner as thyself. I desire thee to consider of it, and if thou hast any inclination thou mayst write to some friends to view and learn the true value of these things, which I think may be understood without much difficulty. The largest of the above said islands is about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth; and suppose it may contain about 300 acres, near 100 upland, the rest swamp and cripple that high tides flow over, but may with a moderate charge be laid dry and make good meadow. I have thought of stopping a creek which I suppose will lay dry 100 of it. There is a fine mulberry walk, and an orchard, and a tenement on it, and a very pleasant place; it is just against the High Street of Burlington, and hardly half a mile over the river. I am willing to sell that by itself, or one half with the rest. I have also five thousand acres of land about fourteen or fifteen miles from Philadelphia, the like from Bristol, and about eleven or twelve miles from the nearest to the river Delaware, at Pemapake, or Poquissing creek, about four miles from North Wales, as much from Southampton, and settlements near. The land is good and well situate, which I would sell also. And I would sell my house and granary on the wharf, where I lived last,* and

* In Walnut Street, afterwards possessed by R. Meredith, who married a granddaughter of S. Carpenter. — L.

council requires five, and there are but eight besides Friends, of which one is so insufferably brittle, J. Guest I mean, that he is now almost useless, and of late nearly fallen off. C. B. is tight, his eldest son being lately made sheriff, upon T. F. laying it down. Friends can scarcely bear up under the difficulties they are oppressed with, and I earnestly hope they may not be betrayed into a forfeiture of their testimony. If once an occasion for warlike commissions should come upon us, and we know not how soon it may, our government will be soon broken or miserably exposed. I beg, therefore, for the love of truth and all that is valuable to thee here, to take some effectual course to put all into true hands. I can answer, for my own part, I am weary of government affairs as they must be managed.

Pray consider what must be done when an assembly is held with the lower counties, for the province will never more act with them, I believe, under this government. Had Gov. Hamilton lived, we should I doubt have been in confusion.

G. Owen and myself have received the hats, but wherever the mistake lay they answer not their character, for they are not beaver.

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the wharves and warehouses, or part of them, also the Globe and long wharf adjacent. I have three-sixteenths of 5,000 acres of land, and mine, called Pickering's mine, which I would sell also. I have sold Elsenborough to Rothero Morris, who is since dead; and my house * and lot over against David Lloyd's to William Trent, and the scales to Henry Babcock, and some other things, and the Coffee House to Capt. Finney, my half of Derby Mills to John Bethel, and a half of Chester Mill to Caleb Pusey and his son-in-law, Henry Worley. I shall not trouble thee any more with these things, but conclude with mine and my wife's kind love to thee and thine: desiring a few lines from thee,

I am thy real friend, SAM'L. CARPENTER.

* The house and lot over against David Lloyd's is the old slate-roof house on Second Street, opposite the Bank of Pennsylvania. William Penn lived in it during his stay in 1700, Samuel Carpenter moving out of it to accommodate him. It ever afterwards was called the "Governor's House." David Lloyd's house was on the site of the present Coffee House, or perhaps the house adjoining to the south; my brother, J. P. Norris, says the lot was patented to A. Griscom, who probably built on it the first brick house recorded to have been built in Philadelphia, 1683; Griscom's heirs sold it to David Lloyd in 1699, and who in 1715 sold it to John Kaighn; and that he thinks it was north of the late James Hogan's, now the Bank of Pennsylvania, having also a faint recollection that his mother once told him David Lloyd resided in it. My grandfather, Isaac Norris, bought the slate-roof house of William Trent, and lived there prior to his moving to Fair Hill. It is now owned by his great-granddaughter, Sally Norris Dickinson. — L.

If thou would sometimes furnish me with a pound of good tea, of which I am grown a great drinker, I should make satisfaction for it. I have mentioned Butterworth's brig, but was much larger in that dated 9th 5th-mo., 1702.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *7th 7th-mo.*, 1703.

This being the day for our court at Philadelphia, the justices met, and the council having directed a *dedimus* to Thomas Asheton, for qualifying them according to the Queen's orders, he tendered the oaths to them required by the laws of England, and with the rest the abjuration, which is judged by the said orders to be as indispensably required as any. J. Guest, who, returning last night from the country, where he now keeps much, appears hearty for the business of the court, C. Finney, E. Farmer, and A. Bankson took them all, and Friends by affirmation, all but the abjuration; but proceeding to business, when oaths came to be administered all the Friends left the bench and quitted the service, leaving it to the other four. They complain much that so intolerable a hardship should be put upon them now in this country, by which they think themselves thrust out of all business; and doubtless 'tis a great severity which would scarce be extended were it understood. This is the first court that has been held in the province since the arrival of the said orders. A governor will absolutely be necessary. Some think Judge Mompesson will be the readiest at hand and very fit, and, except on martial accounts, may please all; but pray let the commission be firm. An approbation for him may perhaps be easily obtained.

I have wrote in several letters of Capt. Dun, a prisoner here on suspicion of murder at sea, and sent the minutes of council 1st mo. last, via New York. That will be made a subject of complaint, for we have no way here to try him. Had the governor lived it might have been done, but now 'tis impossible as we are all circumstanced.

Pray take as little notice of that concerning T. S.[1] as possible: for my own part, I shall smooth all to my utmost.

I have nothing to add but that, with sincere love to thyself and family, I am in all fidelity, Thy most dutiful, &c., J. Logan.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *8th 7br.*, 1703.

Honored Governor:—Yesterday I wrote to Samuel Jennings for an exemplification of the abjuration, in the words which he and the other Friends took it when admitted to council, which, for the reason given in his letter, I thought proper to send thee, and the letter with it: my packet directed to the secretary's office being gone, I send this to W. Aubrey.

As I said in my large letter, the justices who are Friends having yesterday gone off the bench and left the court, to-day it has been held by the other four, J. Guest, C. Finney, E. Farmer, and A. B., who administer oaths to all who can take them, fining those that will not, and the affirmation to all others.

In the evening, Hugh Derborow, being to give evidence in a criminal cause, refused to take the affirmation, In the presence, &c. J. Guest was for giving it as he would take it; all the others for committing him for contempt of the court, with which all the officers joining, bore hard upon the judge, and it was carried so high they were near a rupture. By this may be judged what may be expected. Whether there be a design in the bottom, or whether all accidental, I know not, but am sure there can be no firm dependence where things are managed thus. C. Finney I know is true to the government, and A. B. honest. E. Farmer I never yet could understand; but notwithstanding pretences, I fear somebody else has a particular drift in it. Pray let this be one instance more of the necessity of a speedy provision. We are reduced to great straits, when all are disabled by that ordinance from serving thee but such whose profession too much removes them from our interests. Pray think of nomi-

[1] [Referring to his difference with Thomas Story, of which he writes in a former letter. — Editor.]

nating one forthwith, with approbation, to manage for some time, till terms can be made; for I believe it will be impossible to administer it here long under thee, unless we can find a new set of people. But let these terms be ever so good, some will have cause to repent them. The commission for the Jerseys seems a bitter pill here, and hard to be digested.

Thou knows R. Mompesson, and whether he will be fit,[1] better than we can here. He is on the spot, and doubtless would accept. I hope this will not give thee the first hint of it, but that a commission is even now coming. I know not how we shall get over this fall and winter without one. Pray send duplicates; and remember those who groan under burdens they cannot possibly bear. I scarce expect this court will be held; if not, we shall have none in the province, I fear, till new orders come; and the failure of justice is the highest complaint. I shall use my utmost endeavors with those I have an interest in, as C. Finney and Andrew Bankson. Of the other two, I can make but little, for they are past most men's understanding, though E. Farmer carries it exceeding fair, and I have been forced to let him deal unkindly by me in trade, that he might not be disobliged in these points, or withdraw now when we want him. But I must conclude, &c.

James Logan to William Penn.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 11*th* 7*br.*, 1703, 9 *hor. P.M.*

. . . . Because Col. Quary, I am informed, before his departure hence to Virginia, has made all possible preparations for complaints and articles, which he industriously lays plots for, against this government, to misrepresent us under all the disadvantages he can invent to our superiors at home, and because his vicegerent in mischief as well as other offices, J. Moore, has this week strenuously endeavored, by his profession in the law, to perplex our court at Philadelphia, that disorders there, could he procure them, might yield them a pretence, I send this Express after the Messenger brigantine, who sailed to North

[1] For governor. — L.

Carolina five days ago, to inform thee that, notwithstanding all their attempts and designs laid to the contrary, the said court, which is the principal in the government, being opened on the 7th instant, the day appointed by law, has been held, and proceeded very regularly these three days past, with an exact observation of the Queen's order in council, and so is likely to close, the magistrates and justices having surmounted all difficulties that our adversaries heaped in their way. Chester court, by means of J. Moore's and Jasper Yeates's artifices, with the persons to whom the *dedimus* for qualifying the justices was directed, adjourning for a month, he refusing to obey it through a punctilio cast in his way; but that of Bucks happening, at this time, in the same week with Philadelphia, which it rarely does, and the same busy instrument, J. Moore, by his more necessary attendance here, being obliged to be absent, they proceeded without any[1] . . . . that I can hear of, pursuant to the said order, in the lower counties, where is no obstruction; nor will there, I hope, be any here. But those other two small courts of Chester and Bucks, whose counties thou knows are almost wholly peopled with Quakers, will, when business that requires oaths fall in their way, be very much perplexed, there being scarce any fit to be empowered to administer; in the latter scarce one, that I know of, as the council has at large represented to thee in their letter.

The council uses their utmost endeavor to carry affairs regularly, and preserve good order, but the unwearied malice and injustice of our adversaries make it exceeding troublesome: which with their principles that render them scarce capable of discharging some duties, make a speedy provision of a fit person the more absolutely necessary, with the Queen's approbation, to take the government upon him.

The Indians who did the mischief to the eastward, I wrote thee before, are retired, and, though pursued by strong parties, cannot be met with; some that were taken allege that the French threatened to take their lives if they would not join them. This, per last post, by which also we are told of great success in Europe, as —— with his squadron being taken, a victory ob-

[1] [Unintelligible. — EDITOR.]

tained by Prince Lewis of Baden. The Portuguese entering the alliance,[1] two French men-of-war, with twenty-six sail of merchant-men, are taken now at Newfoundland; but it all wants confirmation, that of Portugal excepted, which we have more credibly.

Captain Pulleyn's ship, called the Fame, mentioned in the council's letter, left her companion. Capt. Dampiere, taking fire at Bermuda, was blown up with her own powder; the collector of Lewes, I am informed, was obliged to draw up an account, by the command of a superior, of her prize coming to Lewes, as is mentioned in said letter, with the most grave representation they could put upon it. I know not to what purpose, for the captain of the said prize, as soon as he had watered, carried her into York, and there, as we are told by the Post, legally condemned her; they cannot sure make anything relating to her an article.

I have wrote to thee as ordered, directed to White Hall, which I hope will come safe with the two bills I enclosed for £50 sterling, and an invoice of fine furs, which was all I could get ready.

Our tobacco not answering in England, I shall ship it to Barbadoes, and have lately sent by the Jolly Galley eight hogsheads, and in the Pennsbury Galley intend twelve more; but the Queen's duties paid here outwards doubles the risk and value, the former of which is now exceeding great to those islands by reason of the Martinico privateers, who are . . . . those of Guadalupe, who were beat from their dwellings, having generally taken up that trade, and, provoked by what they have suffered by that fruitless attack, are exceedingly mischievous.

We are generally healthy, and at length relieved from the consequences we feared from an unusual drought, for above two months past, which had nearly destroyed the grass entirely from both woods and fields. The next I hope will accompany thy son, and an approved governor, or rather commission to such an one here, than which nothing relating to our public affairs could be more acceptable to all concerned for thy interest.

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[1] [6th May, 1703. — Editor.]

William Penn to James Logan.

Portsmouth, 13*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1703.

Though Joshua Cheeseman is bound for two years from the time of his arrival in our province, by his indenture, yet I do hereby certify, that out of the love I have for him, taking him to be a sober and steady young man, and industrious, that will not lose nor trifle away time, I am contented that the half the time of his passage from this place shall be allowed him, as part of the two years he is to serve me by indenture. I would have him kept close to Pennsbury: he is good for the farm, being bred to country business, but for the last two years has been with a vintner to draw wines and tend company; and if the Lord bring me there, I design him for my house-steward and butler. Be kind to him. I have writ at large by my son, to which refer thee, though I believe I shall by this bearer send one of some importance, that comes by him as the fittest way. My daughter and son Aubrey salute thee.

I am thy assured friend, Wm. Penn.

P. S.—Keep my son as expenseless as may be; if you all live together in town, as I have writ, then Joshua may serve for butler; but if Sam. Carpenter invites my son, or any good friend, let Joshua go up, or with hands elsewhere, as I have writ before. Vale.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 24*th* 7*br.*, 1703.

The parchment and letter of attorney communicate to S. Carpenter forthwith, and lose no time to dispose of the said lands, lots, and liberty land, that so the interest £120 may come to an end, that else will be a load upon me. I wish, with all my heart, I had it for one of my poor bairns, if thou can'st give as good a price as any one else. *Verbum sat sapienti.* We are all through mercy pretty well, and salute thee. Farewell. W. P.

By to-morrow's post expect a letter to Samuel Carpenter and

thyself from the trustees, to back that of attorney which I now send. Vale.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *29th 7th-mo.*, 1703.

An opportunity offering that expects to overtake the fleet at Virginia, I make use of it to continue all necessary information.

Yesterday, the council sitting, John Bewley, collector of this port, Samuel Lowman, collector of New Castle, and Henry Brook, of Lewes, being all in town, and having by the last fleet received new commissions for their places under the Queen, desired to take the usual oaths enjoined by several acts of Parliament, to be taken by officers before that board, which now represents the governor; but the thing being new to most of them, those acts themselves that enjoin the oaths were inquired into; upon which it appeared they ought to be taken according to the said acts, either before the chancellor or in chancery, or in the king's bench, or at the quarter sessions; but neither of the first being properly here, and the council being incapable of administering oaths in that manner, notwithstanding they find expedients in other cases of absolute necessity, they referred the said officers to the said courts of quarter session in their respective counties.

With this, John Bewley, and that most ingenious young gentleman Henry Brook, younger son of Sir Henry Brook, of Cheshire, were well satisfied; but Samuel Lowman, who, since his coming to New Castle, has fallen in with that club whose plot is the subversion of the government, makes a noise of it by instruction of his oracle, J. Moore, who tells him they have no quarter sessions at all, and that the council had now shown they knew they had no power themselves, because, forsooth, some of them who could not swear took, instead of an oath, the affirmation; an egregious piece of impudence — while he knows the council has, since the governor's death, discharged all duties incumbent on them.

Lowman, for engaging on that part, is patronized by the surveyor-general, Quary representing him to the commander as a

most active and vigilant officer for the Queen's interests, while no man alive can discern any other merit in him than abusing the government, not in anything relating to his place, for he has no occasion there, but in supporting of factions and eagerly contending for Quary. I hope, however, he will be wiser. It is not so much he as the instructors he has enlisted himself under, who requite him in their letters to the board at home, as if to study our confusion must be merit with the Queen, and to abuse the Quakers to support her interests.

In discourse with an honest gentleman of this place to-day, on these heads, who would be nameless there, he told me that after Bewley had (as is wrote at large in the council's letter) administered the oath to those of the board who could take it, when Col. Quary and the other commander had refused, the said Quary, provoked at what Bewley had done, told him it was he had made the government, and it was his; but had he forbore, and followed his, Col. Quary's, example, things would have been well enough; that is, says the relator, as Bewley said, "*all in confusion, for that is what they seek.*"

'T is plain to any man whose senses are not poisoned with malice, that the forbearing to take that oath, though for the security of trade, if nobody should administer it, it could never unqualify a government; yet this, among hundreds of others, is a plain indication that those men employ the power they are so unhappily vested with for no other end than to reduce us into anarchy, and trample upon the Queen's peaceable subjects, whose honest endeavors are much more for her interest and benefit of the crown, than all the serving of thousands of such hungry scamps, who seek nothing but to render themselves great by the spoils of the innocent, without any regard to any other interest whatsoever, as is sufficiently known by all their neighbors of probity, as well of their own church as of others, whose eyes they have not yet darkened by throwing that specious mist and pretence of religion before them. In short, we live under an insupportable state of cruelty, while our superiors, who, we doubt not, are sufficiently inclined to protect and relieve us, extend their authority and influence through no other channel than such as almost poison them to us in the convey-

ance. To-day I have also had some warm discourses with Lowman, who, among other things, dropt this, "that Bewley might have occasion to see the folly of, and repent what he had done in administering that oath as aforesaid." 'T is certain that Quary, because his speed in malice and factious resolves, by means of his office as surveyor, does him what mischief he can, though they never yet could object anything here to his face against him relating to his office; nor is it that he joins with Friends or any others, but only that he honestly thinks it his business to live quietly and wish well to the public, while others use their utmost efforts to undermine all.

I have informed thee two several ways that Bucks and Philadelphia courts have been regularly held with an exact observance of the Queen's order, but in the first no oaths were offered, there being none there to take them, which, nevertheless, had J. Moore been there, we find would have been otherwise, but Philadelphia court requiring his attendance here, prevented him. Chester court being adjourned, because of the oaths required, the council has issued a new commission, in which the Judge Guest, Jer. Collet, and Walter Martin, besides most of those that were in before; J. B. C. only and R. Pile left out, both at their own request.

On the 20th instant, Samuel Bulkley died, after a short indisposition, passing away before his illness was much taken notice of; and on the 24th, between nine and ten at night, Esther Spicer, widow, as she was undressing in bed, in her own house, was struck dead, with two of her servants, with thunder, three more in the same room escaping. They were buried the next first-day, 30 boats, and above 400 people, attending the corpses by water.

There was in the late inroad to the eastward about 90 persons killed by the Indians, and 80 carried away. The enemy can never since be met with.

. . . . . .

Judge Mompesson is gone again to Rhode Island from hence, but returns next month. I hope by the first vessels we shall have a commission for a governor, which is extremely wanted; but pray be pleased to think what shall be done with the lower

counties, who, under this constitution, will never join the province in legislation; upon which I would beg leave to add one word more.

It is very boldly affirmed here that thou art upon a treaty of surrender; if so, I much crave liberty to put thee in mind that, unless thou canst get a governor of thy own making, with the Queen's approbation, to set things boldly to rights, to support for some little time thy interests, and to pass some good laws, that may not fail of the royal assent, for settling the rights of the country, and the privileges of the people, with thy own, and to form a regular constitution for the courts, with their several jurisdictions, which must ever be the rampart of our liberties, we shall, when the opportunity is over, too late repent of it; for to fall under such a commission as is over our river, would startle any man who ever had entertained a notion of freedom; and the lower counties parting with us at this juncture, if to be united again should a revolution come, may prove a happiness; for without them some good may be done, but with them never any for this province. If thou obtain any articles, if such things be in agitation, pray, for the honor of thy own name, remember the people thou brought hither from their native land, that those who take delight in speaking evil may find no room for reflections. There are many jealousies here about it.

In New Castle County, I am informed, they design to hold no more courts, by reason of the defects in the council's commission, till a better power comes from England; but I hope we shall persuade them better.

If such a constitution as I have mentioned could be brought on the anvil, Judge Mompesson would be highly serviceable. I hope, if Providence has ordered so, that we are near a critical juncture, with the lower counties parting with the assembly; but we cannot, I believe, be distinct always.

If not a governor for some small time here, could he be made chief justice by the Queen for Jersey, and continue the same, or be made so, for he is not yet, under thee, for this place, it would be a great encouragement, and he could serve more provinces than both these in that station.

Judge Guest, from the lowest of our expectation, has, this last

long court, which held eleven days, outdone the highest, and resolves, he says, to be hearty. 'T is on that he goes down to Chester, where, two days hence, I must accompany him, to try if we can force them there into order.

I shall not now add but that I am now as ever

Thy most dutiful and affectionate J. Logan.

Per Randal Janney to Virginia, thence per Guernsey man-of-war.

Postscript, (from Chester.)—I have yet time to add the following:—Yesterday was the election for assembly, by charter, in Philadelphia. They have chosen Rowland Ellis, Nicholas Waln, S. Richardson, Gr. Jones, A. Morris, David Lloyd, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Cart; and for the corporation, J. Wilcox and Chas. Read. In this county they have chosen upon the breach of the lower counties, and in Bucks I suppose the same. About six weeks ago, Capt. Finney's son was made sheriff of Philadelphia, upon T. Fairman's laying it down; but the people, by charter, having the nomination of two persons to be presented for that place, the corporation, angry with the father, resolved to out the son, which was kept very private till very near the hour; but coming to the knowledge of it, I used my utmost endeavors, and got a sufficient part to get the election for sheriff this year to drop; so that for twelve months longer he stands. It would have been very ungrateful, and of ill consequence at this juncture, had that point been gained. Instead of the corporation, I might have named a person or two only as the leaders, but shall pass it, for they are not all to be blamed. The worst of it was, the design lay not so much to put in another as to take it from him. I am sure Capt. Finney and his family deserve all our regards.

Yesterday and to-day the court of this county was held, Judge Guest being first in the commission; Jasper Yeates, though justice by this elective place, in the borough, and Walter Martin, refused, and Jeremiah Collet declined to act. The court was held, however; so that we have now gone round, both in the province and territories. The next, I fear, is Bucks and New Castle; however, what endeavors can be used shall not be wanting. I came not hither till this morning, because of the election above. As for David Lloyd, I find he must be in; there-

fore resolve, as honorably as possible, to fall in with him, it being, as things stand, of absolute necessity.

I am, &c., J. L.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

LONDON, *4th Xbr.*, 1703.

I have thine of the last ships, viz., Experiment and Philadelphia, six weeks since, and Messenger, yesterday, and hope they are all answered by my lieutenant governor and dear child, who are gone towards you, and I hope actually with you by this time, being eight weeks gone. I have writ at large also to thee, to the commissioners of property, each of them, and a letter to S. Carpenter, I. Norris, R. Hill, besides, also, to my cousins Markham and Asheton. My son has them, and that to the council, &c. I think R. Mompesson's the governor has. I only omitted that of the Spaniard, but I hope what I had writ before had been sufficient; for, whatever you may think, having recommendatory letters from Barbadoes and New York for a fair, honest, but unhappy man, abused by a Quaker in Pennsylvania, and some of our ill-willers here furnishing him with a fine set of clothes, he attacks me before the Queen, if not in Parliament; and, though ridiculous, yet it looks dirty that one Quaker shall cozen a man, and the other refuse him justice; and where bias may be already, at least some dirt sticks, and some prejudice is retained, wherefore let me have the history of my earnest endeavors to issue that matter as an officious arbiter, for as governor it lay not before me, the cause never passing through any court of the country to come by appeal, though, in council, I have sat to hear it several times. Ask Edward Shippen, J. Guest, and the widow D. Lloyd, J. M., who said he was a great rogue, but wished the widow would be persuaded to compass it. Also ask T. Murray of my solicitousness. For your perplexities in government, methinks you have brought it too much upon yourselves, for why should you obey any order obtained by the Lords of Trade, or otherwise, which is not according to patent or law here, nor the laws of your own country, which

are to govern you till repealed, and none are but one; and the commissioners prayed me not to send that, viz., about lowering money, of which I have writ, that thou mightest consider my interest. But New England's standard, take it for granted, will be that of all the continent at least; and had not a law of theirs been confirmed by King William unwarily, that can't be repealed without their consent, the English standard had been the measure of America at large. I say, the abjuration, &c., are, besides your clue, and I admire at your weakness in not keeping to law. Queens never read, as well as kings, what they sign; they are signed upon the credit of committees or secretaries.

I desire you to pluck up that English and Christian courage to not suffer yourselves to be thus treated and put upon. Let those factious fellows do their worst, keep them in evidence, and in qualifications, which give you this perplexity, and I will bear you out. If you will resign the laws, customs, and usages tamely, instead of persisting till you see what becomes of the laws, now with the attorney-general, I can't help it; but a decent refusal were wisest.

The loss of Gov. Hamilton has been great all round. Being upon the crisis, he would have carried Lord Cornbury from Quary, &c.; he would have tried the offenders, qualified or countenanced the magistrates, and removed the objection of the defence; but you would have been, perhaps, too happy with him, and R. Mompesson too. Howbeit an honest and discreet young man is gone, who will, I hope, patrisave [*sic*] to me at least. He can and will rectify all, I believe: spirit him, and creep not. I am here yet, and lose what you lose like men and Christians. Intrinsic weight and worth will carry it all the world over. No subsisting without downright force against number, weight, and measure. Mathematics will be too hard for all the world that pretends to govern against it. We seem here to be upon at least a cessation of arms with, or at, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, since I prevailed for Mompesson and a new deputy governor.

For a commission for a new council, I refer you to Col. Evans to perform, being an approved governor. As for Lord Corn-

bury, he proves, as I expected, and sent you word in some of my letters. I have writ four packets by way of New England, New York, and Virginia, of which I hear nothing yet, that treat upon that subject a little. Carry fair, rely and mind little, and believe nothing from that corner of the compass. His father is a well-intending gentleman, but troubled with the puck [*sic*] for the church; his uncle, a significant and great man, and a man of honor, though not parson for us.

For the Indians, I leave to others to answer for that, New York, I mean, for not keeping as might the Five Nations to us, draws the line of jealousy over us, and fear into the bargain. But your new governor will take care of that: whatever thou dost, get him into good hands, men of truth, sobriety, and justice, and give the true side of Quary and Moore to him, their knavery, falsehood, corruption, and faction, for I think a worse man than Quary does not live, as something I shall send, perhaps by this conveyance per packet-boat to Barbadoes, if not gone from Falmouth, will tell thee, but not to be made public till Col. Quary first see it, and be asked if he will change his conduct, and become another man to us, else 10,000 of them shall be printed and spread all over the continent and islands. I think I shall hardly stay long, for no law ought to be given—say hunters to vermin.

I am glad that L. M.[1] plays the man; I would have him cherished, though the surrender was knavishly contrived to betray the people, as I told them here, and though I promised the Friends concerned, if they would yield to stop the surrender a few days, I would have got them a better bargain. Dockwray, or wry rather, to recommend himself, perverted them to it, and what was then promised, I fear will never be observed to the inhabitants.

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[1] Lewis Morris. This relates to the Jerseys. — L.

[The surrender of the government of the Jerseys to the crown, on the 15th April, 1702. Queen Anne having accepted the surrender, "the two provinces were united and placed, together with New York, under one governor," and Lord Cornbury, cousin to the Queen, received this appointment, and arrived at New York 3d May, 1703. See "*East Jersey under the Proprietors*," by William Whitehead, pp. 152, 155. EDITOR.]

For Col. Hamilton's allowance, I hope the people will consider it; if not, I must by Gales press them, as also for his successor, or I must take other methods which will be a dearer purchase at last to them, I believe.

And as for S. C., shall I repay that when £1,000 was subscribed, as Griffith Owen knows, but that for Samuel's taking it into his own hands, to have the advantage of circulating it by bread, flour, &c., to Barbadoes, and so to London, I had received one third then at least in money, to my great supply, and the rest was intended to have been paid so too. I want to know what of the supply given by the Assembly, and what of the subscription at my coming away is received, and how the rents come in below. Pray send it per first opportunity. I am sorry the widow Gibbs is gone; I shall be a great loser, which is too much my portion everywhere.

Methinks S. Jennings might very well discharge me of the purchase money in Jersey, for the injury his supine carelessness caused to me in Gibbs's case; but I bought, I believe, this land, or some of it, of an old king, or his good will as to the place, when he was at Pennsbury with me, of which J. Sotcher and Hugh and the blacks know; and I left a memorandum of it among my papers, for which look well my escritoire. I have two shares, one from Daniel Wait, and t' other from William Nagle, and in proportion must have my share of three takings up, as I remember: I. Bass took up 20,000 acres for me, when governor; pray inquire after it. As for your Dr. Coxe, tell him the principals are here, that I offered to discourse it with him before he went, in answer to his letters, but he never came near me. Pray abstracts of his titles, and under whom he claims.

That story about the Industry, said to have its rise from my father, (Callowhill,) or his house, is chimerical, as wife, father, and mother told me when t' other day there to bring up my family to Worminghurst; but if thou hadst insured by another hand with Trent, or sent in a ship, or by one from the river, but specially when thou knew she laid so long by the walls of New York, perhaps it might have done better, but thou hadst not wanted my good wishes on greater matters, nor my family's and never had ill ones for that.

But thou writest nothing of what they do at Pennsbury to deserve, or quit the charge; pray a distinct account what is cleared and what is raised. I hear John follows his trade there, and yet hands wanting, but I suppose it is only at unseasonable times, as rain, &c., nor have I one word about my two servants bought here, a sore pinch from R. Janney. I am not a little sorry for the misunderstanding between thee and T. S., (Thomas Story,) being a weakening and a dishonor to the profession, and so to a common interest in which you are so much engaged. I shall be glad it ends all well, but poor Thomas has never sent me a scrawl since I left him.

I shall inquire about the Hopewell's sale. I know she lay long upon it before S. V. sold her. If 80, 90, or 100 pounds will entitle thee to 3 or £400 worth of skins, S. V. would send £100 in India goods, securing £130 sterling there, but more of this per next packet boat, for this one should have gone three or four weeks ago, and did attempt it in vain since the great storm, that has besides lives 7 or 8,000, done millions of damage to the kingdom, the like not remembered by any man living with us, and a poor Friend has declared that if this place repents not, God will shake the foundations as well as blow and shatter the tops of their houses.[1]

For my son Aubrey's affair, I have writ in three several letters to direct in it, and now again that £120 per annum must be paid him, deducting interest in proportion to what is paid, as the writing not long since sent to my son, I believe, will declare.

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[1] ["About midnight, *on the 26th November*, 1703, began the most terrible storm that had been known in England, the wind W. S. W., attended with flashes of lighting. . . . . It blew down the spires of several churches, and tore whole groves of trees up by the roots. . . . Several vessels, boats, and barges were sunk in the Thames; but the royal navy sustained the greatest damage, being just returned from the Straits: four third-rates, one second-rate, four fourth-rates, and many others of less force were cast away upon the coast of England, and above 1,500 seaman lost, besides those that were cast away in merchant ships. Upon this calamity the Commons addressed her Majesty, that she would give directions for rebuilding and repairing the royal navy; and that she would make some provision for the families of those seamen that perished in the storm, with which her Majesty complied." *Salmon's Chronologic Historian.* —EDITOR.]

It is my lot to meet with traverses and disappointments, but as I said, just now, the end has usually crowned all. Thou must sell as fast as thou canst, or his trustees, that I may be as expeditiously discharged of the load as may be pray; but know that all above 2,000 sterling returns to me, so that if thou canst save me some handsome tract on the 5,000 acres with an island before it, be it but 1,500 acres, nay 1,000 itself, well situated. D. P. knows, and so T. F. also, all the parts of it, but I fear fresh and new surveyors will be requisite, the old ones being bred in such unfair latitudes.

For the company,[1] they seem to acquiesce in relinquishing their pretensions to the manor lands, unless it be the lands of Gilberts,[2] where they insist upon 2 or 3,000 acres, because of iron mine, and prospect of a work, but by the next opportunity hope to send thee their orders for it. Mind the contents of my last letters in my family affairs, by Joshua, that excellent servant.

Now know, and tell my poor boy, that all his were well the last post, and so are the rest of mine, for his are so; my wife, Johnny, (who is still going to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania,) Tommy, and Hannah, were also pretty well last post; I know their love is to all, and most dearly my daughter's and wife's, and Tishe's very dearly to my son; they dearly remember and talk of him: per next packet boat to Barbadoes, a month hence, he will hear from his wife: can only add my dear love to him; my salutes to the governor and all my friends, the council, commissioners of property, and magistrates, and, which is not wanting, to thyself. From thy assured friend, WM. PENN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *5th December*, 1703.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — Two posts ago, I received thine of the 6th 4th-mo. ult., via Boston, by which I perceive none of

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[1] [Free Society of Traders. — EDITOR.]

[2] A large manor so called: part of it is on the other side of the Schuylkill, but the larger portion is on this side the river; the Perquioming Creek runs through it, and a valuable lead mine is now in operation. — L.

mine since that of the 10th-mo. last, per ye Messenger, was then come to hand; but seeing it is owing to the misfortune of the conveyance, and no remissness of mine, I doubt not I shall be acquitted. By the Cornbury from York, Capt. Symmonds commander, I was very large in one of several sheets accompanying a packet directed to the secretary's office, dated 3d 1st-mo. last. In that I sent a full answer to Col. Quary's articles, with all the minutes of council at large relating to our assembly, and many other papers and minutes of the government, considerably exceeding, in bulk, the first mentioned per Guy, viz., of 10br., which I now wish had never gone, the vessel, as we hear, being carried into France. By the same, also, staying at York much longer than expected, I wrote again 20th 2d-mo.; and again 26th do., of which also sent copies via Boston; and again 29th from Amboy, informing of Gov. Hamilton's death, with bills for £100. 18 sterling; again 6th 3d-mo., by way of Barbadoes and Jamaica; again by way of York and Boston 13th of the same month, [here follows a recapitulation of the several dates and conveyances,] all of which in the single copies, besides the many duplicates, make above fifty pages closely writ in my book of copies; and many of them, I hope, by this time are arrived. Since the last of these, this place affords very little new more than that of the 15th of 8br. The representatives chosen by the province for assembly, for each county eight, together with two for the corporation, according to charter, met and chose David Lloyd speaker, who appeared in general to the people: and the members chosen very well befitted for the public good, whatever he might cover underneath, and earnestly pressed to proceed to business with the council; but the latter wholly refused, which I believe they would scarcely have done had the report been then as current as now of the surrender of the government.

. . . . . .

This account is confidently given by one Usher, governor, I think, of New Hampshire, lately come over, who affirms that the Queen has agreed to pay £15,000 due to thy father in consideration of her reassuming it, but mentions nothing of any terms obtained for the people, which I wish had accompanied

the other, for their general satisfaction; for money, without any other conditions, would give too great occasion for discourse to the ill-affected. But by what thou hast been pleased to hint in thy last mentioned of 4th ult., I take upon me to assure them that they may be secure in that point. 'T is an unhappiness we are no better aware of it, if true; for the want of an approbation to Gov. Hamilton while living, and the expectation of thy success in those affairs from thy letters and from Judge Mompesson, with the certain posture of our affairs since his said decease, has occasioned thy dues from the government to be much in arrears. For property concerns, I can be answerable; but for the others, it has not been in my power.

From thy frequent pressing instances in thy letters for returns, I have strained to my utmost this year, and have sent and shipt off, according to the inclosed schedule: why I could not send more bills and furs, I have before given the reason at large. I wish those I have sent may be to satisfaction. About bear-skins I was not fairly dealt with by E. Farmer. Some of the bills indorsed by J. Regnier will, I doubt, meet the same fate with at least one half, as 't is thought, of those sent this year from Maryland, there being this last summer sent back, protested, to that province, according to an account taken of them, to the value, as is affirmed, of £30,000, which will be 6,000 dead loss to the country, upon the allowance of 20 per cent., given in such cases by their law as well as ours. The ten hogsheads of tobacco, and eight and a half ton of logwood, will, I fear, come to a bad market; but having purchased it long before thy advices came, was obliged to ship it. Tobacco, however, will, this year, yield a great price, by being, as 't is computed, they say moderately, one half of all made in Virginia and Maryland lost by the most violent storm ever known in those parts in the memory of man, on the 6th or 7th of 8br. last; nor was it less severe upon York, and our two lower counties, where near one-half of the timber-trees, many say a much greater proportion, being destroyed by it, and the roads so blocked up that three years will not be sufficient, as the most credible persons of those parts affirm, to clear them. When I shipped on the three last galleys gone for Barbadoes, we had accounts of a good market, but

since hear that bread and flour are much fallen. Beer is tolerable, and tobacco, of which I sent nineteen hogsheads by them, was lately very high there. But I wish the Jolly Galley, on which Randal Janney came, may be safe, having left the capes but the day before the storm.

Of the Robert and Benjamin brigantine, I. Guy master, I purchased one third jointly with William Trent and Isaac Norris, in order to make returns of rice from Carolina, this river now affording nothing that encourages, there being little tobacco, and what there is will not do. Bills, doubted and scarce; for now in Maryland, the place of our supply, they will not draw; and money scarce, and the West Indies very uncertain, and at present low. Our design, as laid, was to send a loading of our goods, upon information of a tolerable market, which we have done in twenty ton of beer, about twelve ton of flour, and four ton of bread, with apples, cheese, &c., to the value of £686 sterling in the whole, besides the vessel fitted out at £560. I. Clapp has gone factor, and with this is to purchase rice; but in the mean time the vessel returns hither with a load of salt, which it is to be hoped will clear one half of her, and forthwith to return with more goods, to complete her loading of rice to England, which may be about £1,000, to join the Virginia fleet next spring, and then, if she will but sell at a price that will pay her wages, we expect no more, if the rice will yield but 24s. per cwt. This is as well laid as any voyage can be, but success is all. It may many ways miscarry, for trade is a lottery. But I think I cannot be better justified than by acting in concert with the most industrious, thriving, and intelligent traders here, whatever the event may prove. I honestly do my endeavors; the rest must be left to the great Disposer of all things.

Had I known thy bargain, should have been more sparing, for now hope the necessity in a great measure over in straining, and shall be so for the future. The only way to gain here is by importation. The revenue of this province will do best to be spent here, allowing always some to ship off to import by it other necessaries. Returns from hence can seldom make profit.

I impatiently expect thy son's arrival, and should be extreme glad could we firmly depend on seeing thyself and whole family. This is a place of ease, *though not to me*, compared to that buzzing theatre. Thou may live truly happy as proprietor here. For the future, I design wholly to apply myself to the settling of thy affairs, for thy ease, and, until fresh orders come, excepting the account of the surrender prove false, shall trouble myself about returns but little more. I hope to be able to perfect complete rent-rolls, which hitherto I could not, because of resurveys. But now in thy absence, and since Gov. Hamilton's decease, I much want support; for because I cannot be of every one's speed, there are those I would fain have expected better things from, that give it not all the countenance they might. In thy next to the commissioners, I request thee to give some small injunctions for the more easy furtherance of thy affairs, the burthen as well as the frowns of which are here too well known to lay some weight on me. I hope an easy access to the rolls office for thy service, and all the patent books, will always be accounted thy receiver-general's due. I never yet would clash with any man, if I could avoid it, and hope I shall keep clear in those cases. Pray be very plain and full to me, remembering my engagements have been, and are, wholly in thy affairs. This place is healthy, and Friends generally well. Honest Samuel Carpenter finely recovered, and has almost finished his works at Bucks. His daughter dangerously ill of her late delivery of a second son. The first is dead. She was, two nights ago, despaired of, and her friends called to see her departing, but since then are some small better hopes. He (S. C.), dear Griffith Owen, and Edward Shippen also, give their kindest salutations; so my landlord, Isaac Norris, and all the family, viz., Richard Hills, &c. Thomas Masters has built another stately house,[1] the most substantial fabric in the town, on

[1] The improvements in Philadelphia this year (1703) are thus mentioned by I. Norris, in a letter of this date: — "Things among Friends, in the main, well here. The Bank meeting-house will be finished against the meeting. Here are more good houses built this summer than ever I knew in one since I came into this country. T. Masters has built a stately one, five stories from the lower (Water) street, and three above the upper, at the corner of High Street, (S. E. corner of

Lætitia's bank, which, for the improvement of the place, was sold him for £190, including the reversion, about eighteen months ago, and is thought could not be better disposed of; for if her husband should ever desire it again, if Thomas keep his humor, he (William Aubrey) may have it again, in all probability, for less than it cost him by all his labor and most of the ground. Samuel Carpenter has sold the house thou lived in to Wm. Trent,[1] for £850, and the coffee-house to Capt. Finney, for £450, towards paying his debts, and so designs to continue to the last foot he has in the province, if nothing less will do. By these two he affirms he has lost above £300. I add nothing here which I have mentioned in my former letters, not doubting but they, with the Virginia fleet, may arrive. Our trade to the West Indies is, in general, prosperous this year.

I am, with true respect, &c., J. L.

Sent inclosed to Danl. Zachary, to be sent by the ship Centurion in Boston.

William Penn to James Logan.

7th 10br., 1703.

I had his (William's) letter with joy, and his wife hers so too. They that press so hard about George Fox's lot have either forgot or do not know it was a bounty, not a purchase. I gave the price of the writings as well as the land, and therefore they should be modest in pressing it, and take it where it can be conveniently given; and I do earnestly desire thee at no time to suffer thyself to be prevailed upon to unreasonable grants, for I am in no condition to lavish what I have, since what comes from thence does not feed my horses nor pay my servants' wages. I am not a little sorry nor sensible that things should run so low amongst you at a time when there is so much need of help.

High and Front Streets.) A. Bickley has built another three-story at the corner next to W. Hudson's." Hudson's corner was the S. E. corner of Chestnut and Third Streets.—L.

[1] [The slate-roof house at southeast corner of Second and Norris's Alley, (now Gatzmer Street,) taken down in 1868, the site now forming a part of that of the Chamber of Commerce. —Editor.]

Look but into the first, if not only, map of Philadelphia, and there thou wilt find, N. N., where our meeting-house stands, and Thomas Lloyd had a lot, and how it was disposed of, being my sons' and daughters' High Street lots, reserved by me for their shares, every front lot having an High Street lot belonging to it, and I wish W. Aubrey prove easy therein; but no more of this. I therefore sent you Rakestraw's letters, that you might make an end with him one way or other; but if he has been otherwise satisfied, methinks he should also submit to some allowance. If George Dakein be a Derbyshire man, I know him, and concur in opinion, and will endeavor his relations may know it.

The island is what should be insisted on, but let it be in the most friendly manner.

. . . . . .

My son's going did not cost me so little as £200, and the land he left destitute of stock at Worminghurst, with the taxes becoming due at his going off, with carpenter's [bills], &c., makes 200 more, and thou mayst imagine how hard it is for me to get it, Ireland so miserably drained and reduced as it is, an account of which I had to-night, at my lodgings, from Sir Francis Brewster's own mouth.

I this day waited on a great minister of state, to make the council's complaint, whose answer was, that putting upon you latitudes here, which you could not easily comply with there, and so make you uneasy, is what ought not to be suffered, and he resents it so closely that he will speak to the Lords of Trade about it. "Take care," says he, "you injure not the revenue, and other matters ought to be left to your own satisfaction," or to that effect. And I say again, as before, keep to the powers of your patent, and the constitution of your government till altered by express acts of Parliament here, which is not like to be this year. I am ordering beef from Ireland, instead of money, to the West Indies, taking my hazard, since it is so low, 3 and 6 and 4s. per 100; nay, I believe it would be a commodity at Pennsylvania, but you have nothing to return. We are now considering what methods to take for better returns; if they fail, you must, of necessity, learn to sell, if possible.

Perhaps by this very opportunity you may have a commission under my hand and seal, with R. Mompesson president, and I wish to have my cousin Parmiter attorney-general, for all their clamors against him; else Renier, if he will accept of it, and the other not. If I should send never a commission, upon the opinion of lawyers, my deputy is enabled to make one, that only will be the reason. It is late, and the packet boat waits the first breath of wind at Falmouth. The original, this being duplicate, is gone for Barbadoes; this to Antigua by the same. We are upon packet boats for the continent also.[1] Let my dear child have my endeared love. The Lord direct his ways for his honor, his father's comfort, and his own peace. I like thy frame in parts of the letters. May thou have the religious authority and persuasiveness with him to balance against passion, levity, and so great openness. He has excelling qualities with his lessening infirmities; so with my love at large, and I end.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

All at Worminghurst pretty well the 4th instant. They were choice beavers,[2] and I paid for beavers, and they must have been unworthily changed by some or other; we have none better now going.

The opinion of all lawyers is that [illegible] of those statutes only reach you that mention you, and therefore you are not obliged to take either affirmation or abjuration, &c.

WILLIAM PENN TO COLONEL EVANS AND THE COUNCIL.

LONDON, 13*th* 10*th-mo.*, 1703.

WELL-BELOVED FRIENDS: — I am with reason earnestly solicited by the adventurers of the old Pennsylvania company to press you to call before you those members of it in that province with whom the power of that society now resteth, to urge them that with all possible speed they would transmit an account

[1] That is, establishing of them. — L.

[2] Hats mentioned in a former letter. — L.

to those concerned here, or to me to communicate to them, of the estate of the company there, as well after what manner they have disposed any goods, and for what, as what yet remains that 's personal or real in goods or land; also, that as near as you can, send over an estimate of the value of the lands as well as the quantity, and discourage any sale thereof upon other terms than those of an equal dividend to those interested as well here as there in proportion to their adventures. In short, it is a crying case here, and but that I and mine are so deeply involved and have the merit of having lightened the great load of so many chargeable and useless officers and servants, or else all had been gone in two year's time, to justify my inclinations and endeavors to preserve it, I could never have bore up against the complaints and importunities of those here so much concerned therein. Therefore for the honor of the province let us have as speedy and just an account of this whole matter, together with your advice, upon conferring with those few there chiefly interested, as time will allow: in which you will oblige many considerable and substantial persons here, as well as the suffering and needy, and acquit yourselves acceptably to

Your loving and true friend, Wm. Penn.

Stand upon your patent powers and your constitution and laws in pursuance thereof strictly, and play not, for fear of your enemies and the courtiers, about your privileges, as I perceive by some late letters. Wm. Penn.

Addressed: "For my trusty and well-beloved friends Col. Evans, Deputy Governor, and the Council of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia."[1]

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[1] [A copy of this paper, varying somewhat, was read in the provincial council on the 4th 3d-mo., 1704, but the "remarkable postscript," as Mrs. Logan properly styles it, is not found upon the minutes. Perhaps some of the members felt too deeply the keenness of its reproof.

This order was made:

"Ordered thereupon, that Benj. Chambers, Ffra. Rawle, and Jos. Pigeon, y^e^ persons now principally concerned here, be summoned forthwith, to bring in their acco^ts^ of the s^d^ society, to be inspected and considered by persons to be appointed by this board for that."

Frequent orders consequent upon the application appear upon the minutes, and the following seems to be the final disposition of it:

[The indorsement on the following letter is quite obliterated, it not appearing to whom it was addressed, but it is probably an answer to the foregoing one.[1]—L.]

LONDON, 31*st* 10*th-mo.*, 1703.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS:—I heartily salute you, wishing you and yours true happiness. I perceive by divers letters as well as that I received from most of you, the restless endeavors of a few malcontents to throw the government into confusion, that they may have the better excuse and pretence for changing the government, and shifting it from the hands in which now it is:

1stly, as for instance, that you are careless about the laws of trade and navigation, because you are not cruel and extortionate, where facts relating thereunto have happened through ignorance or undesigned omission, as in the case of poor Lumbey, Kirle, and Righton, to say nothing of the barbarous treatment of George Claypole and Thomas Masters, for which Quary and Moore deserve the aversion and scorn of all honest men, and I doubt not but they will find it in due time.

"Benjamin Chambers, in company with Francis Rawle, appearing in pursuance of y^e^ order of last sitting, was examined concerning y^e^ affairs of y^e^ society, and he was ordered to give an acc^t^ of y^e^ whole transactions to Edward Shippen, to be by him transmitted to England."

The "Free Society of Traders," or, as it was sometimes called, the "Pennsylvania Company," was a very singular incorporation: very little is known of its history; its charter from Penn of March 25, 1682, conferred the most liberal and extraordinary powers ever given in Pennsylvania to a corporation. It had the right to trade, to hold 20,000 acres in a body, which was erected into a manor "by the name of the Manor of Frank," to hold a court baron within the said manor, also a "court leet and view of frank-pledge," and "to have and determine all pleas and controversies, as well civil as criminal, within the said manor, wherein no other justices or other officers of the said province shall intermeddle." It was an *imperium in imperio*. The charter is for the first time printed by Mr. Hazard in his "Annals," page 542, from a copy recorded in the county of Bucks. Where the "Manor of Frank" was situated we have never ascertained. It is likely the powers given were never fully carried out. Those who feel a curiosity as to the history of the society may consult *Hazard's Annals;* 1 *Hazard's Register*, 394; 2 *Col. Records*, 136, 153, 160, 163; 3 *ditto*, 138.—EDITOR.]

[1] [The letter to which Mrs. Logan supposes this to be an answer is that found on page 214, addressed by Edward Shippen and others to the proprietary.—EDITOR.]

2dly. The next instance is their outcry for want of a militia to defend them in time of danger, and then strenuously endeavor to defeat the means of obtaining and settling it.

3dly. After all their aggravations about trying for life without an oath, they have discouraged the methods taken by my Lieut. Governor Hamilton, to the obstruction of justice, which might accommodate that matter, than which hardly anything can appear more disingenuous.

4thly. I was astonished at the account of the address delivered by Quary, in the name of the vestry in Philadelphia to Lord Cornbury, at his last being there, and I admire, almost as much, your extreme patience, under so impudent an affront and injustice. I suppose it was out of respect to that noble lord; otherwise, I think, had I been there I should have made those gentlemen sensible of the smart of that power they have so often abused in your hands, and for that reason now would have wrested out of them. But his answer, I confess, as it comes from thence, shows his prudence and their folly, and with the addition of what his father, the Earl of Clarendon, told me, t' other day, upon my mentioning to him the unaccountableness of that passage in their address, as well as his great justice, for, says he, I will never solicit the Queen, or anybody else, for that which is the property of another man.

5thly. I also understand that these open defiances to the government they have got their bread under, have excited many of my renters, in the lower counties, to refuse the payment of my quit-rents; an unhappiness, poor people, to themselves, at long run, for I am determined to show them they are in the wrong, and forgive them when they have submitted to their old kind and abused landlord; but perhaps their leaders may have cause, one time or other, to wish they had not misled them from their duty and common justice.

My present indisposition, which they say is the beginning of the gout, makes writing uneasy to me, or else you had had all this from my own hand. I shall conclude when I have said, I expect from you that you will maintain my just rights and privileges, both in government and property, granted to me by King Charles II., under the great seal of England, and by James,

Duke of York, his royal brother, and the constitution, laws, and customs unitedly and universally fixed and established in that government long before the coming of those troublers of our peace amongst us; for you cannot think that I shall support them here, if you submit them there to the unjust clamors and insolent practices of those notorious enemies to our public peace. I am your very loving friend, WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

LONDON, 31*st* 10*th-mo.*, 1703.

I have writ to thee by the packet boats for Barbadoes and Antigua. I think fit to add, by this opportunity of a New York, or, at least, New England ship, that the defence thou sentst me, with an abstract of the requisite parts of thy letters, and William Clark's, are ready to be laid before the Lords of Trade and Plantations, together with the council's letter, that the mischievous and disingenuous practices of our enemies may be set in a clear light before them, an account of the success of which you may expect, so soon as opportunity presents; but I must mourn to think you play so much the courtiers towards your enemies in your tenderest privileges. I have, therefore, pressed the council (I hope I need not, my deputy governor, after he has considered the instructions I have given) to maintain the powers of my charter, and their own constitution, laws, and customs; and I again desire they will not, under any fear or apprehension whatever, be unjust to themselves and their posterity, as well as to me and mine; but I admire of the great omission Wm. Clark's letter tells me of, that, by I know not what fatality, the lower counties were left out of the commission, though my present lieutenant governor, and the Queen's approbation, comprehend them. I more than hope it has pleased God to bring both him and my son safe among you: make the best use you can of them for the public good, in which only I seek that of my poor family. Fear not my bargain with the Crown, for it shall never be made without a security to the inhabitants, according to the constitution and laws of the country, though my supplies to

defend them, and obtain their confirmation, come so coldly and slowly to my support.

I have thy last express, and was comforted with it; and tell J. Guest and others how well I take their courage and service. That will speak for itself, while we exceed not our own powers and laws; for I have not mentioned the presumption and disingenuity of our enemies to any minister, lord, or commoner, as by thyself and Wm. C. related, that have not expressed their aversion to such practices, and I hope shortly to send you a letter from the government, in dislike of such proceedings, which I mention for your encouragement. Salute me not only to my declared friends, but the moderate and ingenuous, what names soever they bear.

Time suffers me not to enlarge, the ship being fallen down to Gravesend, and my notice of this conveniency not exceeding 36 hours. Inclosed is a letter to my son from myself, and in that, one from his affectionate wife. I am going down to them, where they were all well yesterday, through the mercy of God.

A Scotch plot,[1] some differences between the houses of Parliament, and the new king of Spain's being here, allow me a few days of respite at Worminghurst for my better health and refreshment. Continue thy diligence; I have made no ill use of it, hitherto, as to thy credit. Be wise and bold in a good cause. I commit you all to the great Preserver of men, and am

Thy loving friend, Wm. Penn.

Honorable Sirs: — I formerly acquainted your honors with the answer I had from Mr. Moore, when the records, papers, and

[1] [A plot in which Simon Fraser, head of the clan of Frasers, and who assumed the title of Lord Lovat, bore a prominent part. Having been commissioned by the Court of St. Germain to treat with the Highland chieftains who were still attached to the Stuart interest, he appears to have intrigued with the Duke of Queensberry, to whom, for purposes of his own, he betrayed the secret of his mission. Upon his return to France, under an assumed name, by a pass obtained through Queensberry, he was regarded by his employers as a spy, and thrown into the Bastille. The affair was thought deserving of a message from the Queen, and not the least singular part of the transaction was the zeal manifested by the Peers in an investigation which the House seem to have been disposed to treat with contempt. — Editor.]

the seal belonging to the register-general's office were by your honors' order demanded of him, which amounted to a positive denial. I shall not reflect upon the contempt of the government nor his slight of your honors' authority. My humble request is, that your honors would be pleased to enable me as far as may be to perform my duty without the said records, papers, and seal, until such time Mr. Moore may be compelled to deliver them. In order thereunto, I humbly crave your honors' permission to make use of my own seal as sufficient for the register's office, there being nor ever was any law or order for establishing a public seal to that office, or to grant me an order to provide one that may be so established, and in the mean time to use my own seal. And I farther request that your honors will grant me a general order to all the clerks of the counties, that upon my request they would read my commission in their respective county courts, and record the same in their county records. I humbly beg pardon for this trouble, and remain, Your honors' most humble servant,

WM. MARKHAM.

PHILADELPHIA, *Jan.* 8, 1703–4.[1]

I. NORRIS TO SAMUEL CHEW.[2]

12th 12th-mo., 1703–4.

. . . . The governor and W. Penn, junior, caught us napping; they arrived late at night, unheard to all the town, and at a time when we were big with the expectation of a Queen's governor. . . . .

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *15th 12th-mo.*, 1703–4.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — Thy son by this same opportunity informing thee of his arrival, to his pen, as most able and proper,

[1] [This was addressed to the provincial council, and is mentioned in their minutes of 12th January, 1703–4. Markham was accordingly ordered to use his own seal, and the clerks of the counties were required to publish his commission. 2 *P. M.*, 113. — EDITOR.]

[2] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

I leave the account of his tedious voyage. Governor Evans also would write, but because he cannot so fully, nor to so many as he thinks himself obliged when to any; he craves to be excused to thee in particular, nor indeed will time allow of any of us to be large.

By thy son, who arrived with the governor, the 2d instant, I received thine of the 27th 6th-mo., and shall observe the contents, as far as possible, though unable now to answer any part of it more than this, that from the blame I lay under, from my infrequency, as 't is thought, in writing, I desire the perusal of the inclosed may acquit me. The original was sent by the man-of-war Centurion from Boston, and recites my letters with the greatest fidelity.

'T is a great unhappiness that so many of mine had the fortune to go by such unprosperous vessels. Directing to York to one interested in the Cornbury, Captain Symonds, they were all I find put on board her, but by this day's post am informed that the captain happily threw all his leters, and therefore some dangerous packets of mine, overboard. I am troubled for many papers there, and especially for some bills of exchange for £100 sterling, for to our great trouble we have, by the same post, some advices that give us apprehensions of Ed. Shippen's, Jr., in the Experiment, Captain Watson master, by whom I sent the 2d of the same, being also unfortunate; and 't is probable Capt. Puckle also, both in the Virginia fleet. If true, I doubt of £1,600 which I have sent off by several ways this year, nothing will as yet have come to hand, for that to Barbadoes and Carolina I know is impossible. I hear of nothing to Barbadoes yet that has miscarried.

Thy son's voyage hither I hope will prove to the satisfaction of all, and to his and therefore thy happiness. It is his stock of excellent good nature that in a great measure has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed on; and the same, I hope, when seasoned with the influence of his prevailingly better judgment, with which he is well stored, will happily conduct him into the channel of his duty to God, himself, and thee.

He is very well received, and seldom fails of drawing love

where he comes, and hope it will be increased; 't is his good fortune here to be withdrawn from those temptations that have been too successful over his natural sweetness and yielding temper with his associates.

The governor's arrival was extremely seasonable to thy interest here, for, as by the inclosed copy thou wilt find, we thought all positively gone. The report was owing to Col. Usher, who confidently reported, and persists in it, but has not been so fair as to send me thy letters by him, which, perhaps, might have contradicted it, nor have I ever received thy other sent to the postmaster of York, the vessel I suppose never having arrived, so that since Judge Mompesson I have never received more than one, by D. Zachary. I shall undertake to say nothing, as yet, of the governor, only that he has enlarged the council by adding Judge Mompesson, William Trent, Richard Hill, and myself, and for the territories, Jasper Yeates, William Rodney, and intends to add R. French, and perhaps I. Coutts, as new — whither he intends to-morrow. Thy son also, whom I should have first mentioned, takes a place at the board when he thinks fit, next to the governor. The only difficulty we now labor under is the separation of the province and territories by means of that unhappy charter of privileges, which I doubt is unavoidable, though all endeavors to the contrary will be used. I informed thee of this by the Messenger, 10th-br, 1702, which thou received, and therefore admire, as the governor does with much trouble, that thou hast never taken notice of it. I much fear the consequences, notwithstanding all endeavors that can be used, for the territories will not own the charter, nor the province quit it, or I believe ever more hear of an union, if to be prevented. I sent the minutes of council in many sheets at large, by the York vessel, having first by my said letter given thee a summary of the whole.

Pray send over a fresh commission to the council, with power to succeed the governor in case of absence or mortality, agreeable to his choice, if thou thinks fit, which was made by the advice of others, reciting the powers as in the governor's commission, both from the king and duke, that should he be removed the government may not be at a loss as heretofore. I sent a

copy of the present commission with the other papers, and either in that or in the governor's there ought to be a power continued to add members, or suspend, as there is occasion: 'tis now in that to the council; but in the governor's there is one clause that will much disgust, viz., saving to thyself a final assent to all bills, and which I must confess I think is too much in any but those relating to thy property, and will be a check against granting public supplies, seeing they cannot be sure that anything besides will pass, and three negatives to the assembly will be thought too much. It might be advisable also, perhaps, to oblige the governor to act in legislation by advice and consent of the council, as in all the Queen's governments, which would be thy greater security. But what must the territories do if the province proceed to act without them, for I doubt there is no foundation there for an assembly, though I believe it will be tried.

The present governor will not be rash, I suppose, but a good council adds to the dignity of government; the present is W. Penn, Jr., Roger Mompesson, Edward Shippen, John Guest, William Clark, Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey, John Blunston, J. C., William Trent, Richard Hill, William Rodney, J. Yeates, and J. Logan, and Richard French and James Coutts I suppose must be added for the territories. Col. Quary makes his court to the governor, and this day entertained him at dinner with Judge Mompesson, &c., at his house. He now declares an entire satisfaction, and would be inclinable, I suppose, to have all old things done away. There is no danger, I think, of the governor's being wrought upon by any of them, for he seems very true to thy interests in all respects; yet is inclinable to make as fair weather as he can in the government, which doubtless is not unadvisable, but exceedingly troubled that he understood[1] nothing of this dif-

[1] The author of "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania" says that Governor Evans, "having convened the representatives of the province and territories to meet him at the same time in the council chamber, he affected to be surprised at finding them in separate states, &c." This letter proves that his surprise was no affectation. — L.

ference between the upper and lower counties before he left England.

The address to the Queen shall be prepared with all expedition, as desired, but whether it can be carried to answer the end I know not, and shall observe thy other directions, though I cannot here mention them; only must again tell thee, as I have before, that we have scarcely been able to do anything almost in the tax of £2,000 since thy departure, but now will hope we shall be able to better purpose to press it. I have often been large on this head before, though this be the first time thou hast mentioned it to me since. The subscriptions by Friends, amounting to about £300, has been mostly paid in flour according to the tenor, and what remains will now be got in, which, had not a governor come, would not have been, but it is the worst pay almost in the country, in Bucks especially. The tax excepted, the incredible scarcity of money makes all things of that kind difficult; what is now demanded in relation to the tax[1] is a confirmation of the laws, and another unhappiness is that none among Friends can be got to distrain, and others are generally too much disaffected for it. I admire what thou means by desiring the promised copy of the laws, having sent it by J. Sotcher twenty months ago, and doubtless came safe to hand with the rest. As to lowering of our money, if I might advise, I would by all means persuade thee *not* to be concerned in it, for thy profit by it, considering the rents are sterling, will be but very little, and the dissatisfaction of the people in general great. For most certainly, unless we find some trade again with the Spanish Indies, we shall shortly have none left, whether raised or lowered or not touched with; yet if lowered, the exportation of it will be wholly imputed to this, whatever else the cause may be, and those concerned in it bear the blame; besides that, unless provision be made for debts contracted before, it will be the greatest injustice, and some men's, especially S. Carpenter's ruined, who is almost irrecoverably plunged in debt, unless times here

[1] This tax I take to be the one levied, upon the proprietor's departure, to defray the expenses incident to a proper representation of the colony's interest at the seat of government in the mother country. —L.

mend. Pray inform further what thou means by ordering me to pay what I receive into S. Carpenter's hands; he has already £200 of Letitia's money on interest, which he knows not how to pay. But of these points shall be more full by a better opportunity; in the mean time though, through the unhappy circumstances of affairs of trade in general, thou must meet with many disappointments, yet thou may rest assured I shall leave nothing undone for thy interest that, considering all circumstances, can reasonably be expected.

James Logan to William Penn.

New Castle, 18*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1703–4.

We are now here, conferring with those of the lower counties. The governor is handsomely received, and the people seem not dissatisfied. He has published his commission and the Queen's approbation here also, for their greater satisfaction. Upon a conference, this day, 't is agreed that, notwithstanding the assembly of the province hath thrown them off, by doubling their own number of representatives, according to the clause of the charter, yet upon the governor's writs they will meet at Philadelphia, four for each county, according to law; and if, by conferences with those of the province, it can be done, they proceed to an union; if not, that they continue separate, as they now conceive themselves to be, and which, I suppose, will be the result of the whole. Thy son is also here, and carries it well. But the tide hastening the vessel away, (for Barbadoes,) I must at this time break off and close.

Thy most dutiful J. Logan.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 10*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1703–4.

I hope, ere now my son and lieutenant governor are arrived. This comes by Edward Shippen and N. Puckle, to whom I refer thee as to generals and common news, and the prints that

come with them. And in the first place know, that I have received none from thee since I writ largely to thee, by way of Barbadoes and Antigua, and since, a shorter to the council, and so to thee, by way of New England, duplicates of which go now; and I hope, and please myself to think, you will be quickened to show yourselves men in that affair, to wit, of Quary's and his few venomous adherents' proceedings against the government; and that you will no longer endure those contempts which I take to be a betraying of the rights of the people, as well as mine and my posterities. I have made good use of the defence thou sent me, the council's letter, and passages out of thine much to the purpose. And the very Lords Commissioners[1] are at last come to dislike his busy and turbulent proceedings, and I hope for a letter next week, to send by this or next opportunity to New York in nineteen or twenty days' time, from that board, to reprimand his behavior, having convinced them, by the instances you gave me of his disingenuous practices, as well as injurious, as also that I have shown them that the counties he has seduced from their duty, are the only tobacco folks, and that the only enumerated commodity in our country; as also that the people of the territories purged by their address to the late king, anno $\frac{1699}{1700}$, the colony from Col. Quary's imputations upon us about trade, and who also, anno 1684, did by their address to the king and duke (of York) highly express their satisfaction in me, and their union with the upper counties, (and which was indeed their seeking,) returning their humble thanks to both, for sending them so kind a landlord, and so good a governor; and therefore to Quary's foul treatment, and the protection he brags there he has here, I owe that great defection those poor people have been led into of late. In short, I am more likely to keep my government than ever, or to have some equivalent for it; and take this from me: *That if you do but the Queen justice in her revenue, and discountenance illegal trade, and allow the administration their jurisdiction so far as agrees with the attor-*

[1] These lords had set their faces very decidedly against proprietary governments, as will be seen by extracts from an old paper, apparently the draught of bill for annexing proprietary governments to the Crown.*

* [These will be found in note 2, Appendix. — EDITOR.]

ney-general's opinion I sent you,[1] you will not be molested hence, but protected. This the *ministry* assures me here, and I do *require* it of the lieutenant governor, the council, and magistrates, that they maintain to the utmost the powers of my grant, and the authority of the laws; and if Quary, or any of his rude and ungrateful gang, offer to invade or affront them, that they feel the smart of them. His being an officer in the revenue shall not exempt him from correction, or support him in his seditious and factious practices with *impunity*. I have perused thy letter to Lord Cornbury, and bating thy conformity to S. J.'s ill[2] example, though he is more justifiable being under his government, I like it well, and thy *zeal* as well as *arguments*, and I say "*Go on.*"

I am to send a copy of Quary's, and his packed vestry's address to the Lords of Trade, which Lord Clarendon gives me from his son's, if not that his son sent him, for they are ashamed at hearing of so impudent a thing. I could almost send orders to have him (Quary) prosecuted with the utmost rigor, and if I can find encouragement from the learned in the law here that it may be done to purpose, I think to do it per this or next opportunity, which keep to thyself, till thou hearest more of it. My duplicate to the council of the 31st 10th-mo., that is inclosed with thine, is not directed to the council, through haste, being ready to take horse upon a journey: do thou supply it, and write, "For the Council of Pennsylvania and Territories," and give it to them as from me.

For William Rakestraw's[3] affair, if I can find time, I will write to him; however, positively let the case be heard fairly, and see where and how it comes to pinch: 1st, if it was done by my order; 2d, if not, by whose? Let you make him satisfaction, for that I must ever do it for other men's injustice, and partiality

[1] [The italics are Penn's. — EDITOR.]

[2] This was using the style of "my lord" in the letter which the secretary wrote to Lord Cornbury from Samuel Jennings's, at Burlington, upon occasion of Quary and the vestry's presenting their address to his lordship. — L.

[3] James Logan obtained a judgment of the meeting against Rakestraw, who was obliged to retract his scandalous clamors against the proprietor. — L.

is hard. I leave it to the Board of Property to quiet him from further noise and squabble. But one thing take with thee that lot my cousin Markham has almost against his house. I will[1] *not* allow him, nor anybody else, and had rather pay Rakestraw the value of his claim as worth when I gave it him, or the man's in whose right or place he came, and the interest of it to this day: though Col. Markham and he once agreed to it. Look unto it and keep minutes of all that passes, that your offers and carriage to him may justify you, if he comes hither to clamor, as he threatens, or employs a relation he has here. Casper Hoods and John Warder have writ to me about their thirds: I am content to return them, taking a little now and a little then, I forget the quantum. Pray call to mind Richard Bainham's sale to me of 300 acres of land he bought of William Biddle; the writings I left with thee, and I desire a claim may be made of it upon William Biddle; a good support of mine upon the island, that out of that I may be satisfied for the half I allowed him for his wife's and son's and daughter's life; make the best, since those 300 acres where

[1] The following anecdote I have heard from Charles Thompson, Esq.: Anthony Duché, a respectable Protestant refugee from France, came with his wife over to Pennsylvania in the same ship with William Penn, who had borrowed a small sum of money (under thirty pounds) of him. After their arrival he waited on the proprietor for repayment, who told him if he would take a lot in lieu of the money he should have a good bargain, and offered him the square in High Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, with only the exception of the burial-ground occupied by Friends on Mulberry and Fourth Streets, (and which was first offered to Thomas Lloyd, his wife being the first person interred there,) the proprietor observing that he knew the lot was very cheap, but that he had been *obliged* by the money, and besides he wished to do something for those who had adventured with him into this new country. "You are very good, Mr. Penn," replied Duché, "and I dare say the bargain would be advantageous enough, but it would better suit me now to have the money." "Blockhead," rejoined the proprietor, provoked at his overlooking the intended benefit; "well, well, thou shalt have the money, but canst thou not see that this will be a very great city in a very little time?"* "So I was paid," continued Duché, "and have ever since regretted my own folly." Thos. Lloyd declined having a grant of the ground for himself, but wished it to be given to Friends for a burial-ground, and it was accordingly done.—L.

* [This anecdote is related of —— Ladd, and with more point; to whom, on his refusal to accept, Penn replied, "——, I perceive thou art a *Ladd* by name and a *lad* by nature, for dost thou not perceive this will become a great city?"— EDITOR.]

they were sold to W. B. were one of the corners of allotment, viz., Rancocus Creek, would now be worth 2, if not £300. Make all the returns thou canst to me, but of my own, not my daughter's, as unhappily thou sentest them word, but withal, pray see that the attorneys there do return discreetly and expeditiously, or I may pay the reckoning of their weakness. Lessen interest as thou payest with them, pray. I have a good opinion of their honesty and love to me.

I hear not a word about land improvements at Pennsbury, but of divers of the declining condition of it, notwithstanding the money I laid out when there to help it; also that John works to his trade, and yet has great wages of me; [at] what if twenty or thirty servants were under him at the hard labor of tobacco-planting in Maryland or Virginia, would be an exceeding salary: but this may be only noise, and ill will, for I love him and Mary.

I am at a loss till I hear from you, how my deputy governor is received, as also my poor boy, for methinks their arrival ought to give you quiet, and silence the objections of your base enemies for an approved governor.

I offered the Lords Commissioners t' other day, either that we might be bought out, or have liberty to buy out our turbulent churchmen, and they wished it were so, the latter they said. I desired them to forward it, and I assured them I would find four amongst us that could and would do it. They are thoroughly apprised of your hardships, and so are greater persons; and Quary will have a rebuke by this opportunity, or with the New York convoy, from that board, as before noted.

I have further inquired about the hats sent to honest G. Owen and thyself, and they were the best of beavers now worn, and I remember to have opened the box on purpose to see them, and what hats he sent for [the] servants; and I wear no better than [they] appeared to me to have been, and I am satisfied there has been foul play, which is an abominable thing, wherever it has been.

I had a letter from the Lords Commissioners for Trade, &c., upon occasion of one from Sir Thomas Lawrence,[1] that *vox et*

[1] [This is, we suppose, the Sir Thomas Lawrence who, in 1695, had a

præterea nihil, complaining of contemptuous expressions used by Thomas Story in public meetings against baptism and the Lord's Supper, in Maryland, last general meeting; a silly knight, though I hope it comes of officious weakness, the talent of that gentleman, with some malice, rather than an unnecessary attack on the part of Thomas Story, or in irreverent terms. I never heeded it, only said, if that gentleman had sense enough for his office, he might have known his tale was no part of it, and that the rudeness and perpetual clamor and writing of George Keith, and the rest of the drunken crew of priests in those parts, in their pulpits, with public challenges besides, gave occasion for what passed; that he was a discreet and temperate man, and did not use to exceed in his retorts or returns. But 't is children's work to provoke a combat, and then cry out that such an one beats them. I hoped they were not a committee of conscience, nor religion, and that it showed the shallowness of the gentleman that played the busybody in it; however, let Griffith Owen mention this to Thomas, least time fail me. Though I took physic to-day, and hoped for privacy, twenty people of quality have broke in upon me, and they say the ships will sail in two days. If I can send the newspapers I will.

I. Ash I have been extremely civil to, but the lords proprietaries will do nothing without hearing first from t' other side, so that he is under a distracting disappointment. He is an ingenious man, very sharp, and for that reason quick and too strict, nice and uneasy. Poor man, he was yesterday dying, but hope he is better to-night. I wish him well through this world, to a better. Benjamin Ffurley[1] writ lately to me from Holland, as if difficulties were made about assigning him his Front and High Street lot, which if any, was on Schuylkill side, was his

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conversation with Pilsworth on "matters relating to New York," and who was then her Majesty's secretary for the colony of Maryland. 4 *Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, 167. — EDITOR.]

[1] As agent for William Penn, B. Furley had sold the tract of land to the Germans who settled Germantown, and was very instrumental in encouraging them to emigrate to Pennsylvania. He was a minister of the gospel among Friends, and had travelled much in Germany on that account, sometimes with W. Penn. He was an author too: an odd but apparently learned printed work of his is in the library at Stenton. — L.

purchase before the 2d 6th-mo., 1682. If so, aright, else not, for the 100 lots or shares were up to whom only the town lots were granted. Also I promised him, or his wife rather, lying in at that time, that each of her boys should have a lot. Let them, so soon as I send their names, a lot of 25 or 30 or 40 feet, next them already entitled by purchase, among the 500 acres' purchasers.

Forget not Tace Sowle,[1] our only stationer now, as well as printer, to countenance her attorney in taking up her land in right of her father, which was his gift to her. Also pray say something to the Churchills about their £40 cargo.

There is one John Lask, or Lisk, thy countryman, or father's, highly recommended by Robt. and David Barclay, and their uncle Gilbert Molleston, a solid Friend in town, as are the other two, for their time, as an ingenious man, somewhat of a scholar, a civilian too, but a good writer, and bred much of a merchant. I would have him in thy office, or in the receipt of quit-rents, or what may be worth [to] him £50 per an., and countenance to boot. He may be useful. Pray be regardful to him, and direct him as to persons and things, being a stranger. Pray what came of James Claypole's debt, my cousin Silas's brother-in-law, in East Jerseys purchase?

Pray be very mindful of my Jersey lands, and remember my last about the old king's grant to me at Pennsbury. Inquire of Bass, and look over a paper, in the nature of a certificate of survey, Daniel Leeds gave or sent me, or the captain, the collector that was at Burlington, about my two proprieties. What did young Cox at Salem? Be full, pray, on these points. We hear nothing of the Pennsbury Galley yet. I earnestly desire

[1] Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, note to page 226, mentions Andrew Soule, printer, in Shoreditch, London, 1684. This person was probably his daughter; and it is here meant that she was at that time printer to the Society of Friends in London. She married, in 1706, Thomas Raylton, who was continued in the business, in which they were afterwards succeeded by their daughter, Tace Sowle Raylton. The land marked for Andrew Sowle in the old map, is in Philadelphia County, near the head of Wissahickon, then called Whitpain's Creek. Both that and the township of that name were called after Richard Whitpain, one of the earliest settlers. — L.

our folk would make their tobacco more correctly, or give it over, for we lose intolerably by it, besides the great dishonor to our country. Remember poor Johnnee, the little American, according to what I writ, both of his grandfather's lot and land, and what I gave him in my former letters. I will have no more bank lots disposed of, nor keys yet made into the river, without my special and fresh leave, for reasons justifiable. Tell my son I met my wife and his at young S. Tilley's marriage, near Guilford, and then they were well; and by two letters since their return. Guly and Springett are well from their agues, and little Billy so too, and the spark of them all; and my poor little ones also well, and great love among the children. I beseech God increase it everywhere more abundantly; for the want of it will smite the earth with a curse, if people will not fear, love, and obey.

Jacob Simcock writ to me about money due on interest. His father never desired it, but plainly and positively, before him and others, [declared] he expected, nor would have any interest; and therefore let Jacob know it, with my love to him, and his, and his mother, and father George Meris. Salute me to all friends, as if named, the council, magistrates, and officers, and inhabitants, that behave discreetly. I send thee a copy of my memorial the Lords Commissioners desired of me, and what I would have them write to Col. Quary, a duplicate of all this to thee and lieutenant governor; and my son will go by Cook or Robertson. If I have time, may add more; but for fear of losing the opportunity, N. Puckle lying at Portsmouth for a wind, close this, with hearty good wishes for thy true prosperity, and that wisdom may guide thee, that wisdom which is gentle, and easy to be entreated, for it comes from above, and will outlive all the false wisdom of this low and miserable world.

Being thy real friend, WILLIAM PENN.

P. S. — The Friend that made the seals says that he will prove, before the most skilful, that there is no manner of fault in them, though he fears some in the manner of impressing; therefore look well to that.

[The following is a postscript to letter of 31st 10th-mo., 1703. The foregoing letter was copied from a duplicate; the original, since found, has the following addition. — L.]

LONDON, *8th 2d-mo.*, 1704.

I am grieved to think that you ever gave way to any other affirmation than that appointed by law, in the province; by which you have given away a most tender point, not easily recoverable. My regard to this Queen is known, almost to partiality; but I shall never obey her letters against laws, into which she may be drawn by interested persons, or those that would make their court at other men's cost, and go upon private piques; but the great blower-up of these coals, the Bishop of London, is himself under humiliations. However, pray use thy utmost wits to get intelligence of the motions of our enemies there, in their designs, and what correspondencies they hold at New York, Virginia, and Maryland, and communicate them to me with the quickest and safest opportunities.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *14th 1st-mo.*, 1703–4.

The original of the above is sent by way of Barbadoes, with a copy of a former by the Centurion via Boston, by whom returning to Boston, having struck on a rock going out, this is intended, if it can possibly reach, which I much suspect, and, therefore, shall not enlarge. This morning John Guy, whom I mentioned in my former, by the frigate, is come in from Carolina, and he shall be dispatched thither again with all expedition, to get a loading, according to former advices, and sail per the Virginia fleet for England. I am every day more out of heart, through the great discouragement we lie under here. The country has no money — what little there is the traders in town have it. Wheat, the farmer's dependence, bears no price, and bread and flour is a very drug, notwithstanding so high in demand three years ago. Things are now at such a stand that I know not whether to receive thy dues or not, seeing that they can by no means be had in money. This morning we have also

the account of the great storm in England, and the losses by it. Another blow! Last week, thy son, Judge Mompesson, and myself went to Pennsbury to meet one hundred Indians, of which nine were kings. Oppewounumhook, the chief, with his neighbors, who came thither to congratulate thy son's arrival, presenting nine belts of wampum for a ratification of peace, &c., and had returns accordingly. He staid there with the judge, waiting Clement Plumstead's wedding with Sarah Righton, formerly Biddle. I am, as before, thine, &c., J. Logan.

[By way of Boston, with a copy of the former.]

William Penn to James Logan.

[Part of a letter which belongs to this date,[1] and appears to have been written when under a heavy pressure from his unfortunate circumstances. — L.]

. . . . But as difficult as my circumstances are, and as mean a prospect as thou givest me of any supply, yet that hardly troubles me equally to the weakness, and worse (I fear) of some of our folks, in reference to your government matters. "If" (at a time when monarchs on this side of the world, (who will yet for some ages give law to that, and that seem almost all of a mind to get as much power in their hands as they can, if not agreed to lessen the privileges of the people, because of the ill use some hot or designing persons make of them,)[2] they can think

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[1] [Mrs. Logan assigns the year 1704 as that in which this letter was written, and we accordingly place it under that date, with this comment and explanation, that the statement made by Penn, unless erring in his computation that for twenty-three years he had supported a "*deputy* governor" at his own cost, shows the letter was written in 1711, Captain John Blackwell having been commissioned in 1688. It must, however, be remarked, that although some of the facts mentioned appear to make the latter the proper date, yet the return of his son to England, which took place in November, 1704, the separation of territories, the lower counties, &c., would hardly have been referred to as recent events in 1711. — Editor.]

[2] It is a singular coincidence, that in the same year in which this letter was written, the child should be born in one of the colonies who should cherish their resistance to the misrule of the mother country, and, in

such a law as thine mentions can succeed here, they are distracted: be sure they will in vain show their inclination, if not worse; for, to say truth, 't is incongruous, and a mere bull in constitutions: as the case stands they will leave no government for me to dispose of, but take it upon themselves, and neither requite me for a deputy governor these twenty-three years at my cost, nor so much as settle a maintenance upon this gentleman. By no means let the present governor recommend himself to the Queen or me to succeed in the government at so preposterous a rate. Will they never be wise? These assemblies, held so absurdly as well as hazardously, will, in the end, subject the whole to laws made for them in Parliament.

I am sorry to have such a prospect of charge as two houses, and the governor's salary, my son's voyage, stay and return, and no revenue or Susquehenna money paid, on which account I ventured my poor child so far from his wife and pretty children and my own oversight. O Pennsylvania! what hast thou cost me? above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child's soul almost, as I have formerly expressed myself, (to be sure, the present venture of his life.) But I must be short. I shall be further loaded, instead of his coming being instrumental to relieve me. In short, I must sell all, or be undone and disgraced, into the bargain. Pray make him sensible of this.

William Penn to the Commissioners of Property.[1]

20th 1st-mo., 1703–4.

Beloved Friends: — At the request of my old worthy friend, Thomas Elwood, who cannot be unknown to you, at least by a just fame and reputation, and of the first purchasers, I do hereby desire and order you to take care that you forthwith grant

conjunction with other enlightened patriots, succeed in effecting their emancipation from her threatened bondage, and, by a dissemination of the principles of equal liberty and just government, teach the monarchs of the Old World that their best security is a respect for the privileges and happiness of their subjects. — L.

[1] [From the Justice MSS. — Editor.]

warrants of survey to take up and survey all lands of his, having nigh to 1,000 acres remaining unsurveyed, and also his liberty lands and city lots on Front and in High Street, according to lot and settlements, commencing when he will give order to some person to attend you. With best wishes I close, and am

Your true and affectionate friend, WM. PENN.

1704.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *3d 2d-mo.*, 1704.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — Being informed that 't is possible this, by way of Madeira, may prove an opportunity of conveyance, I make use of it to inform thee of my receipt of thine to-day, via Barbadoes, of the 10th mo. 4th last, and that we are all here in health. Thy son has shown himself resolved, ever since his arrival, to see York some time before his departure, and Judge Mompesson going from hence thither five days ago, with a design to return in eight more, both for the sake of the company and the shortness of the stay 't was thought to be the most convenient opportunity that could offer. The judge is exceeding firm, and in a right interest, and somewhat incensed at the unaccountable commission that arrived about ten days ago, constituting Col. Quary judge of the admiralty for this province and West Jersey, dated in 9br. last, and supersedes that part of R. Mompesson's: how it was obtained startles us all to think. He has likewise obtained a commission to be surveyor-general of the customs, either of all the plantations, or, at least, of all the continent; which raises him more than ever he was depressed before. If the assembly make a new regulation of the courts, and give encouragement to R. Mompesson to be our chief justice, he will be well enough pleased with his being superseded here, for it has been of no profit at all hitherto, we are become so superlatively honest; and he is of opinion that these two commissions — of the admiralty, I mean, and of the civil courts — are not very consistent. Nor does Col. Quary deny but that the two places are equally so, and therefore 'tis be-

lieved, unless thou interposes, endeavors will be used to raise J. Moore to it, which will intolerably set them above us all. Thy son will be large on this head from York, but I take leave to hint it here, hoping it may reach. J. Mompesson would have no measures taken at home, I suppose, till it appears what our assembly will do here.

I wrote by the Centurion man-of-war, from Boston, a little before the governor's arrival, and a fortnight after, viz., 18th 12th-mo., by way of Barbadoes, and sent a copy of it again by the Centurion, but fear it did not reach her. We have had but very few changes made yet in commissions, only the council enlarged. New Castle has been in great divisions, J. Coutts heading for the government, and R. Halliwell endeavoring to strengthen and recommend himself again, but at the election the 21st ult., in an appearance of the whole county, they say, had not twenty to stand for him of 300, nor was one of that party chosen. This J. Coutts was resolved to effect to show they were not pretenders to an interest and had none. There were mighty canvassing on that side pretending the church, but nothing could be carried, notwithstanding the clergy all round used all endeavors; but all will come to nothing I doubt; for that unhappy charter thou granted, and which I admire thou never mentioned, will, most certainly, utterly separate the province and territories, I doubt to our confusion. 'T is a strange unhappiness we labor under, as if there was a fatality in that we must never be quite in order. The clergy increase much this way. Burlington and Chester have their churches[1] and minis-

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[1] [St. Mary's, Burlington, and St. Paul's, at Chester.—EDITOR.]

The summer of 1704 is represented, in a letter of Isaac Norris, to have been remarkably dry and warm. Tobacco and Indian corn failed, but a very good and large harvest of English grain.

February, 1704.—"This has been the hardest winter and deepest snow that has been known by the oldest person amongst us. We have had but one post all this season, (from Boston,) whose quick return and short notice allows not to enlarge. The river is still fast, and likely to continue so."—*Letter of James Logan.*

Price-current, from a letter of Isaac Norris, dated Philadelphia, 28th 5th-mo., 1704:—Rum, 3s. 9d. per gallon; sugar, best Barbadoes, £3; molasses, 2s. 6d., or 2s. 20 hhd. together, Antigua; cotton, 20d.; ginger has been 14 or 15 per cwt.; logwood, no buyers, the last sold at £9; flour, 14s.; wheat, 3s. 9d. per bushel.—L.

ters, and several more are building. God grant that a spirit of charity and kindness may be cultivated among us in place of hatred and persecution. I shall lose this opportunity if I continue to add, and must, therefore, break off, and conclude

Thy most dutiful, J. Logan.

James Logan to James Coutts.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, *6th 3d-mo.*, 1704.

Esteemed Friend:— . . . . I have communicated to our young proprietor what thou writest about his journey to Conestoga; but he has been informed from thence that the Indians of that place will not return from hunting till the latter end of this month, and thinks that it will not be so commodious travelling till the grass is better grown for horses. He gives his service to thyself and brother, with which accept the best respects of thy assured friend, J. L.

Richard Hill to Jonathan Dickinson.

Philadelphia, *14th 3d-mo.*, 1704.

My Dear Friend Jonathan Dickinson:—I gladly embrace this opportunity, being the first and only that I conceive shall have from this place before my departure for Maryland, which I expect may be about two weeks hence, which time is also appointed for G. C. and M. H. to consummate their marriage. Our place is generally very healthy, as are all our relations and thy two children. They grow up together as calves in a stall, and are inseparable companions, and for the most very good company. Dear friend, I hope this summer will crown our desire with your good company, which would be very acceptable to us all. We have a new governor, who is lately come over with the proprietor's commission and Queen's approbation. He is an Episcopal man, young and solid, but I hope every way well suited to our present circumstances. The province and territories are divided into two assemblies at last, but are one government. It 's yet too early to pass opinion whether for the better or not, but we hope the best. We also have our young propri-

etor's company, who is come to stay here a year, and, if he like, fetch his wife. Thy news about Gov. Pimento, of Carthagena, was both new and acceptable, and I hope will be rewarded for his friendship per the new king of Spain, when admitted. We have not much new news from Europe that is credited, but daily expect. Rich. Bradick and one Crute, of our place, are both safe at Martinico, and is all they have yet known of ours amongst 150 sail taken this way. I hope they will not enlarge the number. I presume most of my relations that may be expected will move at large, embrace this opportunity; therefore shall not say much for them, only my wife, with me, has her very dear love to thee, thy wife, relations unknown, and dear Johnny, which accept as the needful from thy affectionate and real friend to power. RD. HILL.

Pray remember my love to Benj. Dickinson. Thy sons have their duty to you both, and love to brother.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *25th 3d-mo.*, 1704, *5th-day.*

HONORED GOVERNOR:—I send this chiefly to let thee know that I am writing largely by the Virginia fleet, to be sent down by third-day next by the friends going to Maryland meeting, and 't is hoped will be early enough to reach them; but if any disappointment should possibly happen, it may be convenient to advise thee here that the province and territories are entirely disunited, in pursuance of that unhappy charter, and the province now acting by themselves in assembly; but what they will do cannot yet be foreseen: some hope for good, and some expect but little. In the mean time, however, if thou hast an opportunity of making a good bargain for thyself, and the many honest people that are still here, notwithstanding the endeavors of the spiteful or malcontents, 't is what I believe thy best friends will advise thee to. We are all well. Mr. William and I have taken Wm. Clark's great house in Chestnut Street.[1]

[1] Near the S. W. corner of Third Street, afterwards the residence of Israel Pemberton, Esq., and now occupied by a bank. — L.

Judge Mompesson has lost all in his commission but New York, and Col. Quary is made surveyor-general of all the main, and I believe of the islands too. The governor acquits himself beyond what could possibly be expected from his years: is master of his temper to a great degree, which has been but too much tried by some of our humors. It will be a justice due to him to get the Queen's first commission to him. Judge Mompesson is certainly a man of consummate worth, but has not fallen into hands that know how to value him. I fear the assembly will give him no encouragement. He is of the council, and as he is of ability infinitely beyond the rest, so he has a willingness suitable to it. A militia is going forward with all vigor; but our friends would not suffer the proclamation to be printed in their press. I shall not enter in particular business here, referring it to the other opportunity, and conclude with all due respects.

Thy faithful friend, JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *26th 3d-mo.*, 1704.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — Since the arrival of thy son and lieutenant governor, I wrote from New Castle 15th and 18th 12th-mo., via Barbadoes, with a copy and postscript, via Boston; the 3d 2d-mo., by Madeira; and 16th instant by a sloop to Ireland, besides those by the governor, thy son, and Joshua Cheeseman, I have received thine, one dated 4th Xbr., by way of Barbadoes, with duplicate and postscript via Antigua, and another, 31st 10br., by post from Boston: of the contents of all which shall take notice, but for want of some helps am cast so far behind in time that I must do it with brevity.

The governor acquits himself to the satisfaction of his and thy friends, and much better I believe, than is desired by our enemies; there has not much passed that is very material, except that of the separation of the province and territories, all the steps of which will fully appear in the minutes and papers that accompany this. I sent the minutes of the whole proceedings in 8br. and 9br., 1702, at large, 1st-mo., 1702–3, but

believe they miscarried. My letters, however, of 10br., 1703, with two or three of these papers now sent, will give a full sight into that business, and the proceedings of the present assembly will appear at large, by those council minutes, drawn all with my own hand, though I can ill spare the time for want of assistance, the writer I had having left me. I designed in the close of these to have sent Judge Mompesson's report of the council's conference with the assembly a second time, with the arguments in law and reason, which made a way for that answer to the assembly, but could not get it drawn up; however, the whole will appear very clear to any that will but fully consider the royal charter to thee, which makes all laws past by thy lieutenant as available as those past by thyself; besides that the very words of that saving makes the clause void, there being nothing reserved but an assent to laws past, which when past will need none. That answer was believed by all those that signed it, was truly right in itself, yet would scarce have been complied with by the council, had not necessity forced them, for without it the assembly would have done nothing. But thou art still very safe in a governor who seems in all things to be actuated by such principles of honor as will never suffer him to hearken to anything repugnant to thy interest, unless some small matter must of necessity be dispensed with to make way for a greater advantage, of which I as yet know nothing.

They have this day voted for raising a sum not less than a thousand pounds for public uses: but the methods not yet agreed on, and indeed the country is so very poor it will be very difficult when laid to make it answer in the collection. They design, I understand, the Queen with part of that £350, they say £200, and to leave the rest to the territories, but I hope otherwise, for to bring them so near us in proportion will be a disadvantage to us. Inclosed I send a copy of an address from the representatives of the territories, drawn up after they went down again to New Castle by James Coutts, with part of his letter; afterwards, I understand, he got it signed by them all, but whether sent or not I have not had time to learn. R. French is his opposite in interest, which makes him write the less favorably; but James has really been hearty, and deserves well of the government,

yet is cooled, I doubt, because of the new commission to that county for justices, which scarcely pleased him. They are all in parties there, but J. Coutts carried it by vast odds against Richard Hall, and the others of his side, all the election, and behaved himself wonderful well when here upon the service.

The governor is settling a militia with all application; I send a copy of a proclamation, which the overseers of the press were not willing to have printed. There are to be three companies in this town, three in New Castle, two in Kent, and as many in Sussex. The captains of this place are G. Lowther, who had a commission under Col. Hamilton, George Roche, whom I mentioned per the Experiment, a stranger of a great estate from Antigua, who is also made of the council, as I then proposed to thee,[1] and Captain Finney's son, who is sheriff of the county, as per said vessel I informed; and a troop is talked of being raised in the county under said Capt. Finney, if it can be effected.

Judge Mompesson's affairs I leave to himself and thy son, who will also tell thee, I suppose, of J. Growdon's professions of friendship. The assembly seems generally well inclined, but there are two or three troublesome heads, who 't is feared will retard what they can. Yet one happiness is that the father and son, J. Growdon and David Lloyd,[2] draw not the same way; by next shall be able fully to inform, to which also must refer some particulars of thy letters, as that of the tax, impost, and subscriptions especially.

The reason is that of the first we could get but very little forwards since thy departure by reason of the weakness of the government, and the great head made against it, but now are

[1] This person is thus mentioned by Isaac Norris, in a letter dated 1704: "The gentleman thou hast heard of is a Captain George Roche, from Antigua; he has bought Captain Smith's plantation over Schuylkill, and the little place that was Chanlott's, on this side of that river, and there he at present lives; he has also bought Christopher Sibthorpe's house, and last week has taken most of Samuel Carpenter's warehouses and part of the dwelling-house, and carries on a great trade, especially to Antigua. Samuel Carpenter is out of trade, lives at his plantation, has sold the scales, and the Coffee House, and intends to sell off more." — L.

[2] Joseph Growdon, and David Lloyd, who had married Joseph Growdon's daughter. — L.

pressing it vigorously, and have good hopes that much will be had that the people are able to pay, which would have utterly been lost had not the governor arrived.

For the second, the year 1702, which was the last summer it lasted, proved so unhappy in the Barbadoes trade, that there was not one third of the rum imported that was usual, the people being forced to use little but spirits drawn here, because of the great drought the year before in that island. Nor have I yet finished with Samuel Holt, he being forced to get in most of his notes by discount, partly through the scarcity of money, but more for the reason given before; I mean the opposition given to government, to which, notwithstanding, he was a well-wisher; yet I cannot say but that he proved a faithful officer, and much better than most that it has been thy fortune to meet with. H. Mallows, who had a commission about the excise and miserably fooled it, proved no better in that than in some other of his duties.

The subscriptions in this county and Bucks have been but very poorly answered: in Chester something better, but there is much behind yet in most places; but I shall get the greatest part in by some means or other, and when done, shall send an account of it with the other. They will scarce pay anything but wheat or flour: such a drug now that it can find but few buyers, being so very low in the West Indies.

The account of thy circumstances there, and the exigencies I know thou must labor under there, with the difficulties I am oppressed with here, through the great decay of trade and poverty of the planters, from whom chiefly we receive our pay, makes my life so uncomfortable, that it is not worth the living: I am ground on all sides. I know 't is impossible to satisfy thee thus, and the condition of our affairs will not enable me to do better. I hope thou hast received something considerable from Barbadoes, having shipped thither these last two years to the value of about £900, which went all safe, and the most of it to indifferent markets, though now there is no encouragement. John Guy also, from Carolina, is intended home in this fleet, of whose brigantine, called the Robert and Benjamin, seven twenty-fourths is thine. W. Trent and Isaac Norris have each the like

share, and the master one-eighth. We designed to load her home with rice, on thine, W. Trent's, and I. Norris's account, each one third; but finding freight there was very high, and that that would turn to better advantage, have ordered him to take what he could get out of that, filling her up with our own goods, and sending the rest of our effects in proper merchandise thither. This, if she come safe, will make 2 or £300 sterling, at least, for thy share; and would rice have answered well, might, if loaded, as intended, wholly by the owners, have made £400 thy share; goes consigned with Isaac Norris's to John Askew. I shipped last fall £79 on thy account to Antigua, by Nicholas Braddich, who is taken into Martinico, with £60 on my own account, being my first adventure of the kind. 'Tis thy first loss to the West Indies of eleven consignments sent since thy departure, of which, nine to Barbadoes, and one to Jamaica of about £60, to Rogers and Mills, who are both dead since; but care is taken, we hope, to secure their concerns, and I have wrote pressingly about it.

If the Archduke succeed in Spain, these countries may rise again, but otherwise they seem sinking, as doubtless the confederates' affairs must everywhere. I know of no way left but by way of trade, to drive returns, round about, as opportunity offer; for a trade to Barbadoes, if from thence with rum to Virginia and Maryland to purchase bills there, has done well; but they have this spring laid 9d. per gal. on rum imported by us, which will prove a great discouragement; and their bills the two last years have failed exceedingly. Wm. Trent and Isaac Norris are the most thriving men with us; and I endeavor to act in concert with them, but having no way to get either money or goods from England, with which they make their business circulate, lays me under the greatest disadvantage. There is another way, which last year would have done, viz., shipping wheat to Madeira for wine to be carried to Barbadoes, and bringing rum thence; for flour at 12s. 6d. per cwt. there, and freight £8 per ton, will not answer. Pray give thy orders in general, to be either positive or discretionary. I would not act rashly, but with the best advice and concurrence. If I can pay some debts I contracted in purchasing and fitting out the brig-

antine, &c., and answer Wm. Aubrey's attorneys this summer, it will be all I can pretend to do, unless it be by shipping some small matter to the islands, as we have advices that it may answer; for money I cannot get: what little there is, lies in the traders' hands. The country, from whom I must receive, can get none: the effects of their plantations will scarce buy them clothes, which they take of the sloops in exchange. I know not what we shall do about the Susquehanna subscriptions: we may have particular bonds renewed by many, which will bring interest; but were the country people ever so willing, nay, were it to redeem their lives, they cannot now raise money. People are generally well inclined, and better pleased than ever I knew them before, since the first great assembly after our arrival. Bonds will bring interest; and if times mend, money and this interest will discharge interest elsewhere. I assure thee thou needs not press Letitia's business. I shall take all the care that is possible, and sell upon bonds rather than fail. The town lot, to be sure, must all go, but of the manor we may reserve a piece, unless some chapman would buy the whole. If T. C. would agree with William Aubrey, it might do well. Thou knowest the land as fully as I can inform thee.

Thou orders 50,000 acres to be laid out for Sir Robert Fagg, which Mr. William says was in trust for his mother; if so, there is 3,000 already laid out in one tract, and one half of it confirmed to thy daughter; the other thy son craves, and will have it. This thy daughter may hold, if she please, unless entirely cut off by the settlement. I wrote long ago to W. Aubrey about it, not knowing thou was obliged to £2,000 only. Pray order how it shall be. She has a firm patent from thy own hand, &c. Please to remember that no verbal concessions will cut off legal deeds when suffered to lie to posterity, and particularly in the business of the company.

Thomas Roberts is dead, and there are so many under leases that they cannot be bought out. Johnny's[1] lands are 1,200 acres at Mahanatawny,[2] including his grandfather's 5,000, and

[1] The proprietor's son, born in Philadelphia. — L.

[2] Maxatawny township. — L.

there is 10,000 confirmed to him and the children, had by his mother, lying somewhere above the highlands, but what it is worth I know not. I shall pick out some convenient spots for them wherever to be had, but think it very unadvisable to make any settlements, therefore request to be excused, as well as building a lodge at Fair Mount; all that understand the affairs of the country and that I have spoke to advise against it as a great absurdity: settlements I mean. I am about building a mill on a great spring at Rokonk,[1] on 500 acres reserved there, which will make both that and the adjacent lands valuable. It is of a new fashion that has done exceeding well here, and will not cost above forty or fifty pounds: this shall be for him thou pleases to name. I have saved for Tommy[2] a good lot of 100 feet, the next above Edward Shippen's, and which comes down to the dock, the most conveniently of any there: and the better to secure it, have leased it to Edward for twenty-one years, making the reversion expressly as I said before. I designed to build a granary on part of that slip that comes down to the dock, but shall forbear it this year; I intended also to have begged a small slip of it for a warehouse to myself, in case I should ever be able, by my services, to make use of such a thing hereafter: but it might draw envy, perhaps, to let it be seen I ever got any thing, and for this reason, perhaps, cannot yet be a freeholder in the province. I return thee hearty thanks for thy kind present of a wig, but wearing my own hair ever since thy departure, makes it the less useful. Griffith Owen, as was his due, taking his choice of the hats, he had the least, and therefore the larger no way fitting me, I presented it in thy name to Caleb Pusey, who kindly accepted and wears it for the donor.

I shall take all the care I possibly can for those thou recommends to me, but being much exposed to the attacks of all those that seek to wound thee, my only security is impartial justice, under the shield of which it is I have boldly defied some malicious men, who have this assembly attempted to impeach me

[1] [Or Thokonk: it is impossible to decide which. — EDITOR.]

[2] W. Penn's second son, by his second wife: afterwards one of the proprietors. — L.

of wronging the people, not high fees I assure thee, for I have never yet been charged for that; but of being too severe in some points in thy behalf, which I cannot now desire thee to believe whilst returns come in no faster. Please to let Thomas Callowhill know T. Brock's wife is dead, and I am afraid that fellow will shuffle me at last; I have used both fair and foul words: he promises well, but performs nothing. I cannot write to himself (T. C.) this opportunity. I shall get Nelson's, &c. land laid out, but M. Martindale never had a lot that I knew of; there is one, however, left, and shall lay it there. R. Snead's land in the Welsh tract is mostly given up among the Inevouchets,[1] but there is still left about 7 or 800 acres there and on Skuykill, (Schuylkill,) his attorneys agreed to this, and in such cases we must request thee to press no further for thy friends than for others, when there is one rule of justice by which we must steer, or can never bear up our heads for thine or our own reputation. At Pennsbury, John is very industrious, and of working at his trade[2] is an abuse upon him. The plantation clears itself all but John's wages. He complains he had not ten acres cleared fit for service at thy departure, but since has improved above forty, and if well followed the fruit of his labors will appear hereafter, though for the present not so fully. He would fain leave it: the low price of wheat is a discouragement there as in other places. I have sent what I can get about the Spaniard, and the trials thou desired. I can give no account of overpluses yet, the returns of resurveys not being completed, a commission to the council is necessary in case of the governor's death. P. Parmyter will be troublesome I doubt. Pray send the bills carefully protested. I know not what is meant by a copy of the laws thou desires, being sent long ago. Lowering the coin without regard to contracts is unjust and will not be observed by the people. Thy interest is not concerned in it much, or if it were it is still unjust. What other directions there are in thy letters shall observe, concluding now with love and service to thyself. Thy faithful and obedient JAMES LOGAN.

[1] [Sic. — EDITOR.]

[2] Or, those who had represented him as neglecting the care of the proprietor's place, in order to work at his trade, wrongfully charge him. — L.

James Logan to Jonathan Dickinson.

Philadelphia, 12*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1704.

Jonathan Dickinson — Dear Friend: —I cannot without some sense of shame set about writing to thee now of necessity, having so long deferred it, when my inclinations without any other inducement not only should, I confess, but have often led me to it, had not other interposition always diverted me. The necessity I now speak of is I. Norris's absence upon this vessel's departure. He went about fourteen days ago with his brother Hill and sister Del, with two women friends from England, and several others from hence to Maryland yearly meeting, and at his departure ordered his last to thee to be copied, which is the inclosed, and one barrel of white bread to be loaded on board R. Brereton, per whom this comes, for thy own use, for which inclosed also is the captain's receipt, and craves that it may find thy acceptance. I know not what news to inform thee of; we are too inconsiderable to be taken notice of otherwise than as persons are particularly concerned with us, and where thy greatest of the kind lies. I shall acquaint thee that thy two rugged boys are very lusty, and love the river much better this hot weather than their master's countenance, and the fields and boats fare before schools or books; they are more tenderly dealt with, I am confident of it, than they would be by their own mother, by one that is but too affectionate, and who most eagerly desires her care should be succeeded by her to whom nature has given a nearer and stronger right. This for thy children, the next for thy estate visible. S. Preston and I. Norris, thy attorneys, design to propose to the assembly, that is to sit next week, to have some act passed for securing the neighborhood from the ruin that seems to impend from the adjoining tottering great fabric; what may be affected in it I know not, but 't is thought very necessary as well upon account of the house itself, as more particularly of the people's lives in it, who now in every great wind and rain are in apparent danger. The assembly of the province is entirely separated from the lower counties, from which some expect good, many fear harm, which is the

most probable. It has been hoped our people when by themselves, as now, would proceed vigorously for the public good, the clog of the territories being removed; but I fear their jealousies and impracticable temper peculiar to our folks will be but a means to expose them more to the censures of their ill-wishers. We are happy in a very good governor, a young man, but very discreet, who is armed with full power, both from the Crown and the proprietor.

This day fortnight, being the day before friend departed, thy wife's good friend and acquaintance, Martha Hoskins, changed that name to Claypoole, and now sweet Debby is left for some time to lie alone; who will fill up the place I cannot be positive, though I cannot say I am without wishes if these would effect it. Poor, honest Col. Markham this morning ended a miserable life by a seasonable release in a fit of his old distemper, that seized his vitals. I know not what else to add, besides that we are all well and heartily wish you as happy, though we are sometimes apprehensive of the contrary, and earnestly desiring, if it might be the will of God, once more to be comforted with your presence here again, which I assure thee is desired by none with more sincerity than by Thy affectionate friend,

JAMES LOGAN.

My kind love to thy wife, &c. I cannot procure the receipt mentioned, I. Norris's man being gone out of the way. The cask is marked "No. I. D." I have found it.

Addressed: "To Jonath'n Dickerson, Merch't, in Jamaica."

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

10*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1704.

I am larger by this opportunity by another hand. I hear nothing from Barbadoes, Jamaica, or Carolina, &c., nor had a penny thence, since thine of 10br., nor any letter from thee. A letter goes from the Council of Trade, &c., to Col. Quary, to quell his fury and exhort to moderation at large, and particu-

larly to respect the government and magistracy. I have nothing else new. See what I have writ to Samuel Carpenter and Edward Shippen, and my son will show thee his, and so the deputy governor. Vale.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 11*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1704.

Since thine of the 10th-mo. last, now 7 months ago, not one scrip of paper has come from thee to me, nor indeed to any else, save that Daniel Zachary was so kind as to intimate to me my son's and the lieutenant governor's safe arrival, by one from Isaac Norris, and by Isaac's to John Askew, which, though very obliging in him and joyful to us, yet we sorrowed a little that anybody should write and not the secretary of the place be present enough to write to his principal under these extraordinary circumstances, and upon such an occasion. I, otherwise troubled and ashamed, and John Askew, take it that thou as well as my son and lieutenant governor had sent by way of Barbadoes, from whence no vessel has arrived, where the packet is looked upon as the best way of conveyance. The letter of Isaac Norris being but duplicate and sent by way of Boston, where they imagined something might have prolonged the man-of-war's stay, though very small hope is of it. In short, the silence has been so long, by means of winter also, that 't is uneasy, and gives a disrepute to the country.

I have little to say more than former letters express.

1st, Conduct.—Give no occasion to exceptions or reflections, and value them not when made or thrown without a cause, but command thy temper all that is possible in doing thy business, for in Joseph Pike's case thou hast been hardly represented to him, and surely he is provoked at thee, and displeased with me, of which more by another hand upon the spot. I know whence the arrow came; 't is provoking; but this is the cross we are to bear to prove ourselves Christians indeed. Whatever thou doest, give no offence, be not high-minded, but fear: I take the

lesson to myself; we all need an holy and daily remembrance of it.

Col. Quary. — Letters are gone to him from the Board of Trade and Plantations, and also little Perry his support, to moderate his conduct and carry respectfully to the government and magistracy, only being careful about his station. I promised to write to you to be as discreet on your part and careful not to wink at forbidden trades, which I have done to governor and council and particular members, and renew my caution by this to thee.

Bank Lots. — Till further orders I will have no bank lots sold, and never the 20s. per lot on any account. Pray mind this; I have good reasons for it at present.

Jo. Lumby and Owners. — There is one John Pecket and Company concerned with or in Lumby's ship and cargo, that want some money there in prosecution of Col. Quary, for which they will pay me here. Furnish them; it will be but a small matter of twenty or thirty pounds, be it as it will, remembering that upon bills that the Queen by proclamation now sent thee has settled the coin at £25 per ct. according to New England standard, and would have done it to English sterling, but for the late king's confirming their rates for money, which extends all over America.

Rent-roll. — I am at so great a want for a rent-roll that I must press it, that if not sent already, as in thy last thou promised per thy next, fail not to send it to me per first vessel that comes away from your parts.

Governor's Spanish Dog. — Chancellor Parnell and Doctor Hedgbury almost clamor on Peter Evans, the governor's cousin and clerk, who stole him away, that I desire thee to advise them to send him over, or to make a good apology for not doing it.

Open Trade. — I am assured of an open trade with the Spaniards as much as ever in the West Indies, if not already opened: not that risks are not run as before the war, but that there shall be none on our parts from ourselves I read the draft.

Skins and Furs. — I have also been particular about the furs; pray be not so ill used by anybody. The skins last sent were sold to advantage.

Supplies. — I desire thy utmost care to get a reasonable revenue settled for the government, particularly for the governor; our laws now lie for a good fee to the attorney-general, fifty guineas at the least.

I have told thee that nothing is come of the bills of lading, but what came directly, and I wish the deaths of W. R. and I. M. prove not a loss to me, though poor I. Mills sent me word the goods sold pretty well, and he would take special care of remitting me the effects per first opportunity, about fourteen days after W. R.'s death, and died himself in ten days, I think, after the date of his to me. Write, as I shall, to Jonathan Dickinson about it, pray.

Laws. — Be sure the very next assembly to let the laws pass with the Queen's name, though under my seal, according to charter, the attorney-general making the want thereof an ugly objection against the confirming them, though a good fee would go a great way to clear the scruple, if I had it to give him; for what with the decay of Ireland, half at present, and the loss of two ships, nothing coming in from the islands and Carolina, with 4s. in £1 here, my son's part of the estate, and the interest money I have to pay; so that, with all these drawbacks, I live but from hand to mouth, and hardly that.

Returning to America. — Thou urgest my return; but alas! how is it good, since to save my estate here to discharge debts, I eat up what I have there, as the best returns? But I want water to launch my vessel. Think of that; as also if I am not worthy of a house in or near town, such as Griffith Owen's, T. Fairman's or Daniel Pegg's, or the like, that 500 of your money, or perhaps 600 at most, may purchase for my reception, and at least 500 per annum to take there besides my own rents. I have spent all my days, moneys, pains, and interest, to a mean purpose. Think of this, and impart it. They will all get by it as well as myself.

Churchill's Books. — Pray write to him, and give him some account of them, that he may not have reason to reflect through his own act, not ours.

T. Brooks's Widow. — My father Callowhill wishes my care

would not let him be an entire loser by her death. He has been a great one on account of the country.

Remember what I wrote about Roberts's lot.

Pennsbury. — Let me not be put to more charges there, but only to keep it in repair, and that its produce may maintain it.

Woods. — I hope there is an effectual care taken of my woods, that they be not destroyed, near the city especially.

Our Health. — I bless the Lord I and all mine are well, or were lately so, including my son's. I have writ to him, and two letters go by this opportunity from his wife. I send no news, but, except Germany, things look but ill as to the war; yet the Duke of Marlborough is in a great way to preserve the empire, that before was very low.

I hope my son in some way answers my expectation, and those he gave at parting more especially.

Do thy endeavor, I desire thee, that he may be my comfort and honor while I live.

Seal. — The engraver will send directions that will render it with thee sufficient. He says it is for want of a better understanding it. So, with my dear love to all friends, and the moderate of others, with thyself and thy family, I close..

Thy affectionate and real friend, William Penn.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 14*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1704.

Opportunities now proving rare, I shall embrace all appearances of them to inform thee of our circumstances, though because of their great uncertainty I shall be brief.

Third-month last I sent per Al. Paxton, in the Virginia fleet, a packet, with minutes of council and several papers at large, which I hope will come to hand. Since that time the assembly has met again, but have done nothing besides presenting to the governor a bill for confirmation of the charter of privileges, upon the separation of the territories, explaining all things that appeared doubtful their own way, making the annual assemblies to continue from election to election, with the power of adjourn-

ments. New elections upon false returns, or ejectment of members, to be entirely within themselves, excluding the governor from any power of dissolution or prorogation, and prescribing the qualification of their members to be by taking the declarations directed by the laws of England to be taken by such as cannot swear at all; and upon this they adjourned to the 1st of the 6th-mo., after harvest, and are in the mean time to proceed by committees upon other affairs of importance. They have voted to raise a thousand pounds for public services, but intend, I doubt, to sell it very dear. Judge Mompesson has been here during their late sittings, and of great service in council, but going to New York, as he said, for a few days, has not returned yet, nor I fear intends it, to stay with us, Bridges, the chief justice there, being lately dead, whose place 't is expected he will supply. He seems to be tired of us, as we have reason to be of ourselves, all things considered. In short, I see little to be expected here that should incline thee to defer accepting of good terms one hour after they are offered. This people think privileges their due, and all that can be grasped to be their native right; but when dispensed with too liberal hand, may prove their greatest unhappiness. Charters here have been, or I doubt will be, of fatal consequence: some people's brains are as soon intoxicated with power as the natives are with their beloved liquor, and as little to be trusted with it. They think it their business to secure themselves against a queen's government; but then their privileges, could they obtain them, may prove as troublesome and opposite to the public good as now. A well-tempered mixture in government is the happiest, the greatest liberty; and property and commonwealth men, invested with power, have been seen to prove the greatest tyrants.

The governor is at present very ill with the *cholica pictorium*, in no wise owing, I believe, to what is commonly accounted the cause of it, intemperance.

There are three good companies of the militia in town, under Capt. Roche, late of Antigua, young Capt. Finney, and Capt. Lowther; but the old party still are at all endeavors to discourage it, for now great part of the church are become of the loyal

side, and 'tis hoped will shortly address the Queen, no way to the advantage of the uneasy gentlemen: thy son hopes to carry it over and see it presented. Were all our own people as reasonable as some others might be induced to be, we might live much more easy.

The governor at present lodges at said Capt. Finney's, the sheriff of this county, but intends, if he can acquit himself of an engagement with Robert Asheton, to make one of our family in William Clark's house in Chestnut Street, which we were forced to take, the whole town not affording any suitable accommodation to thy son as a boarder; those that were able declining the trouble, and others not being fit to accept it. We have now been in it a month, having continued till then at Isaac Norris's, whose wife, though very obliging, could not bear so considerable an addition to the burden of her family, especially of her children, tender, now six in number, and small. Samuel Carpenter is retired wholly to his plantation. Edward Shippen's wife is too humorsome, and it suited not his son's circumstances to be with him.

I lie under a great hardship for want of a more full adjustment of matters in relation to his supplies here. Before he left England he threw himself, he says, entirely upon thy generosity, and therefore resents it the more nearly when I am not able to come up to his expectations, which, though far from extravagance, are yet much above the limits set me. The directions given me can by no means satisfy him, nor answer what is thought suitable to the presumptive heir of the province upon his first appearance in it, even by the most reasonable. He expresses himself dutifully to thee, but, notwithstanding, it forces him on thoughts that render his visit of less service to him. It proves a hardship upon me between both, but I shall endeavor the best, though in so nice a point I do not expect the success of pleasing either.

We have lately received advices that the Queen has granted her subjects liberty to trade with the Spanish West Indies, which 'tis possible, if it succeed, may prove of advantage to these parts. All depends on the archduke's success, from which, according to present appearances, I doubt there is but little to

be expected, and if that comes to nothing, so I fear will the English dominions in America. I wish they may stand elsewhere; as things are now, we lie under the greatest discouragements. The country has scarce anything to pay, and all means of returns, could we receive our effects, are cut of, except it be by sending our goods to Barbadoes to be sold at less than half cost here, and returned in rum, to purchase bills in Maryland, which now also are dangerous and require great caution, but it is the only trade now left us to purchase English goods by, and when successful, has been profitable, their goods being very low there, and bearing some price here; but the risk is great, through the great number of Martinico privateers: they have this war taken above 150 sail of English, four of ours: another large sloop belonging to Isaac Norris, Samuel Carpenter, &c., the last stick that Samuel was concerned in at sea, was taken in her return hither by a large privateer of St. Maloes coming from the Havanna, called the Duke of Orleans, and being bought off again for £800 sterling, came a few days ago into Maryland. Capt. Puckle we believe is lost, the vessels that came out in company with him being arrived in Boston and Maryland some weeks ago; if so, it will be the greatest blow this country has received of the kind. She is deep laden and rich, we are told, and goods have not been known scarcer here, there being nothing arrived this year from England.

I have lately wrote four several ways to John Askew to insure £300 on thy account on John Guy from Carolina, some of which must needs come to hand. Isaac Norris has done the same, as William Trent also to his correspondent T. Coutts. I know not what to say of that vessel: when that voyage was projected, nothing could promise better, there being a great probability of making our money sterling, but instead of that nothing could have happened worse; in her return to Carolina she met with southerly winds which kept her long on her voyage, and the commodore of the Virginia fleet, through an unaccountable humor, sailing much sooner than was expected, and by that means leaving many of the vessels under his charge behind him, our vessel could not fail of the same unhappiness; we then had hopes the other two men-of-war intended to be sent to join and

strengthen the Virginia convoy, missing the other, might arrive and prove a second, for the vessels left behind; but meeting the fleet about ten leagues from the capes at sea, the commodore obliged them to return, without the privilege of refreshing themselves with wood or water, or landing any of their passengers except eight, who bought one of their pinnaces and in that ventured ashore. By these means there is not any probability of any convoy again from these parts this year, and it was upon this we wrote for insurance, as before; but now we much fear whether it will be possible to persuade the master to sail, or to get men to go home, and that, instead of sailing directly from Virginia, according to our orders, which there wait him, he will come in hither.

We have advices from our factor, there is loaded on the joint account 150 barrels of rice, and 200 of pitch, and some goods we believe upon freight: were it not for that, and that the rice is a perishable commodity, it might be better if she came in here and unloaded her pitch, which at home we believe is of more value than the rice, and proceed in some other voyage, till a better opportunity offers of shipping to England: we shall rather, however, endeavor to send her away directly, and trust to insurance, which, if not made, I request may be got done with a proviso in case she proceed with her voyage, otherwise the premium to be returned; which is very common. By all means I request insurance be made, leaving it at large whether her departure be from Carolina, Virginia, or Pennsylvania. I intended in my letters to John Askew, of which he must doubtless receive some, that I feared John Guy would scarce go master, to which also regard must be had in the insurance. I know J. A. will be very careful in this, being himself concerned in her jointly with Isaac Norris, and when about it for himself will not begrudge so much trouble for thee. I have been large here, not only for thy full information, as that I may perhaps be disappointed of writing to him per this opportunity, though I shall endeavor it; and therefore intreat thee to communicate it, and press it on him. The voyage will prove bad at the best, but I cannot bear to think that from so good a prospect it should become an entire loss. These things must needs prove very

melancholy to thee, nor are they without a large share of the same to me. I act for the best, and with the best advice and concurrence, but against Providence there is no contending. Business of all kinds is so discouraging that I am quite dispirited, and shall venture no more till there be a better prospect, and the face of affairs alters, unless commanded; but in that point I have but too great reason to be easy, for as things now are I can receive nothing to enable me to it; we can sell no lands, nor receive for those sold: my present engagements are as much as I can deal with. The governor not having received anything yet from the country, expects, as well as thy son, his supply from me.

I have not yet answered the interest due to W. Aubrey, which I shall shorten as fast as possible by means of the town lots as far as they will go, for the land will not sell now, but the trustees have sent so very lame a power of attorney, that we can make no titles by it to satisfy those that would purchase. People there believe that anything will serve us, but they are much mistaken, we are but too exact; we must have another instrument, with much stronger clauses than Herbert Springett usually puts in those he sends hither, obliging the constituents to ratify and give further assurance, and this must be signed before two evidences who can personally prove it here. We have a law for this made at New Castle, and nothing short of it will do. If this be neglected, so must the whole business, for we have no power but what is given us, and this we have will extend no further than to agree with the buyers till a title can be made. I have wrote to the trustees themselves, by the Virginia fleet, which whether received or not be pleased to press this, thyself being nearest concerned in it. I wrote also to Robert Fairman, and several others, by a later opportunity from hence to Virginia, which I fear may miscarry, the fleet having sailed so disorderly, and many fine ships left behind, which is likely to prove a great loss to the country.

I am securing what convenient pieces of land I can, but find Fagg's and the 50,000 acres, of which thy son claims one moiety by his mother, are both the same; however, I shall lay out some convenient tracts, at least the best I can, but there is very little

now to be found. Samuel Carpenter's great unhappiness in the world, by reason of the country sinking, and his debts growing yearly, has much altered him; his being concerned in the Susquehanna business has been a retardment to it, though thou hast not a heartier friend in the country. But how we shall get in that money seems unintelligible to me; the circumstances of times between subscription and payment so widely differ; I shall, however, do what I possibly can in it, but we grow weak in property affairs. Thomas Story has now been absent near five months, upon which the corporation has made David Lloyd recorder in his stead. Griffith Owen is weak in business, and Edward Shippen in health: he is much broke of late by the advances of that which admits no cure, and 'tis hard for me alone to press affairs of importance as they ought to be.

I before advised of Col. Markham's decease on the 11th of last month; he died of one of his usual fits, and was buried very honorably, like a soldier, with the militia, &c. I have received all the papers from the widow, and we are to have the accounts viewed and examined; but J. Reignier, the counsellor, her son-in-law, stands very firm to her, and they plead debts due to them for services, over and above all that can be presented against them. He is now gone to York, but at his return we are to inquire into it. The old gentleman made a will, but has left his own daughter very little, though with him. The register's office is now in the governor's own hands. We are healthy and poor; a good crop and harvest, but the most hot, dry weather that has been in my time. I shall not now add but that with due respects and sincere love to the family, I am

Thy faithful and obedient J. Logan.

Thy son-in-law assures me that there has not been one paper secreted since Col. Markham's death, and that every scrap he left behind him is ready to be produced: when so solemnly affirmed, and offered further upon oath, I must not mistrust it, but at the same time it falls the heavier upon the person who continued in the business so long, and left no memorial of his proceedings behind him but what can be gleaned from his scattered receipts abroad.

[This is added by Mrs. Logan, and appears to be an extract of a letter addressed by Logan to Col. Markham's widow. — Editor.]

William Penn to James Logan.

12th 5th-mo., 1704.

Last night came to hand thine of the 12th-mo. 12th, 1703–4, and a postcript of the 14th 1st-mo. following, which made some atonement for that long silence we have uneasily borne, and reasons for it. All that time and wind will allow me to say is, 1st. That I only desire to hear from thence as often as others. 2d. That my heart is glad at the news of my poor child's arrival safe among you, and more, that he does not offend, and is likely to be discreet. 3d. That he had not only one, but divers letters for you, single besides packets. One Joshua had, if not more. 4th. I desire the governor and Judge Mompesson would be very large and particular to me in their proper stations, and what aims and hints they think proper for me to take measures by for the general good. I am glad my son sometimes attends to learn business, and pray let me know if he inclines to stay till I come, and have his wife and children to go to him, or [he] return to them. 5th. Keep the £2,500 that I ordered to S. Carpenter in thy own hands, if in danger there, because I would assign it for paying off debts, to such as chose to have it in thy hands, of which more per next. 6th. I am very sorry that our people stoop not to the Queen, that stoops so much and so kindly to me. They will, I fear, provoke a ruin to me and mine, to the loss of the government, without a proportionate satisfaction to me, and a yoke upon themselves too.

Those *sturdies* will never leave off till they catch a *Tartar*, and must come hither to be lost in the crowd of taller folks, to be humbled and made more pliable; for what with the distance and the scarcity of mankind there, they opine too much, and I am under great dissatisfaction at what thou wrotest about their aversion to the union.[1]

I know this aversion to a union, now the Queen has ordered the means of it, will set an ill complexion upon them towards her at my cost at last, and recommend their enemies. Nay,

[1] [That is, to the union under one government, legislative and executive, of the "*three lower counties*," now constituting the State of Delaware, with the three upper, then designated as the Province of Pennsylvania.—Editor.]

were I better posted in the lower counties, I would find a way to dissolve the charter so far, but in no *real privileges.*

7th. Let me know why the two packets that were lost were dangerous; and supply my son Aubrey to his attorney there. 8th. I fear thy letters and mine have been lost by interception rather than by other miscarriages. 9th. I am glad the Indians were so regardful of me as to come down to congratulate my son and present him. I hope you were good to them in return. 10th. I hope the governor will cure disaffected, where any are so refractory as to refuse; but they think to be exempted from charge, or that I was to come thither and spend more than they gave me, and return at my own charge, for all they gave by assembly equals not what it cost to go, stay there and return, and to maintain our common right (above £3,000 since I came back) from a yoke the basest of them would not suffer without clamor. 11th. I told thee of opening a trade with the Spaniards before mine came to hand, and thou mayst depend upon it. I am now going to the Lord Treasurer about it, and to Sir Peter Meddows,[1] and if I hear any more will intimate it before I seal, though the merchants and masters have gone down and the wind fair. Here are some proclamations of the Queen, sent me by the lords, with a letter about the corn, with a salvo to thy objections of precontracts too. 'T is general — none of my doings, nor indeed of my opposing, for that practice is run down by all the men of good sense or good morals at this end of the world. My dear embraces to my poor child. The Lord direct and preserve him. My salutes to the governor, judge, council, friends, and magistrates, and I hope the Lord will bring us to you before or by this time twelve months.

I am thy loving friend, WM. PENN.

P. S. — My wife's dear love to my son, and rejoices in his safe arrival. She salutes Friends and the governor. Thy last came by Portugal, a copy, save in thy own hand. Johnne says, "Respects, duty, and love to brother."

15*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1704.

The 13th came thine of the 16th 3d-mo., and my dear son's

[1] [Doubtless an error in copying, and intended for Sir Philip Meadows, Knight, a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations. — EDITOR.]

separate, to my great comfort, which I have sent to my daughter, though I doubt not she has one herself. We also hear that the Virginia fleet is in the chops of the Channel.

20th 5th-mo.

I herewith send a copy of the instructions to the governor about opening a trade with the Spaniards; and perhaps a letter may come formally to me, to send to the governor and council, as I do this, about money.

Pray let not Flower send us over any news-letter but what thou makest correct and fit to be published, which we have made this in some measure. Vale. W. Penn.

22d 5th-mo.

Tell my cousin Markham[1] I have his, and take it kindly from him. It is a good general and of some particular views that is instructing. He has good sense, and I see it does not leave him. I am sorry he is not in his place. Herewith comes a fresh commission for an attorney-general; for I would have that violent fellow out of all places in my government, and despise his forwardness, since in vain I have so long suffered in his carriage: about Captain Dunn is sufficient, and his disputing of my commission to my cousin Markham. I must say I take ill the governor not writing. 'T is hardly credible with those that ask me, of his friends; and more, they think it unpardonable.

My cousin is very just to him in a discreet character, and so he is to thee also. Pray consult him sometimes, and tell Col. Evans I would have him do so too; and in honor to him I have offered him to be of the council.

I shall write no more to Evans, having written twice already, till I hear from him. This business of the disunion sticks with me still. I fear it will lead to a worse thing, unless we adjust the matter where it is. What will the Queen think, after all my memorials to preserve the government without a seam, to

[1] Col. Markham died the 12th of 4th-mo., 1704. Samuel Preston, in a letter of this date, thus mentions him: "This morning, about 2 of the clock, our near neighbor and old friend, Col. Markham, ended a sorrowful life: a man, thou knowest, well respected, yet not to be lamented by his best friends. I was a spectator of his latter end: it was not with much hardship or struggle. To-morrow his body is to be buried, &c."—L.

find, and that on our side, it is torn in two! Oh, the weakness of men! Use the utmost of thy address with the wise, the honest, and the weak, to accommodate things; and don't let them make use of a charter against me, now I keep the government at unspeakable charge, and at evidence that I only granted in the extent it has against our enemies, when they and I feared I should lose it. This thought, one would imagine, well laid before them, should prevail with them. I doubt not I could have made disunion one branch of my bargain to have kept the rest, had they gone into a union at present; but ——[1]

Here is a long letter of J. Mompesson to Charles Lawton, inclosed in a less, designed for the view of Lord Clarendon, who showed it to me, and was the reason of his retrenchment at last; but not a word of me in it, as well as the newsmonger: not a very respectful omission, after my civilities and tenderness. The last might have said something that looked thankful to me, from the care I had over them in sending over a governor to them, according to the poet:

"If Tom such praises have ——"

Nor has he said anything of my son by way of distinction, either in respect, or to denote him my son, which I have endeavored to supply by the word *young* in this print; for from the imperfect mention of Col. Evans going over governor, those two, or one of them, the "Post Boy," and "Flying Post," gave occasion to the nations to think the Queen had solely made him, and I lost my government; but the Post man handsomely corrected it: and people might have thought, without *young*, it had been so indeed, and that I was gone with him a *blank*, he being called governor; but I have added lieutenant, to prevent such a construction. I have no other letters yet from thee than what I have mentioned. I hope by the Virginia fleet you will make us amends. Those newspapers will come to you.

Be punctual in my son Aubrey's business to keep my credit with my poor girl. Tell my son all were well at Worminghurst t' other day.

[1] [This is so in the original letter, the sentence remaining unfinished. — EDITOR.]

I inclose a letter from Lord Clarendon to his son, the neighboring governor,[1] about Samuel Bonas,[2] that if he is not yet at liberty, will I hope procure it. But I admire at his remissions if not proceedings at this time of day, when the Queen and ministry show so moderate a side towards Dissenters here, and on complaint in this affair would be very ready to resent and reprimand such a differing conduct. Send it to him by a discreet friend, if needful.

I think to chide S. Vaus for his unaccountable silence to thee about so many accounts between you. Nothing yet come since I begun this, now about eleven days ago. The ships are ready to sail, and the wind at north, so that I conclude with my kind love to all the deserving, and dear love to my child, who I hope studies, at least reads and takes notice of some of my excellent as well as thy histories, and what relates to government. I close,

Thy loving friend, WM. PENN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *26th 5th-mo.*, 1704.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — This comes now to inform thee that on first-day last, the 23d instant, in the morning, this place unfortunately lost its collector, that good-natured gentleman, John Bewley: he was taken away by a dozing lethargic distemper, and I believe apoplectic, without sense of pain, having been abroad two days before; and because of his corpulency, and heat of the season, was buried that evening.

Immediately upon this, John Moore applied to Col. Quary for the place, who is now surveyor-general of the continent,[3] upon a promise that not only he, but they both say the commissioners or Savage had made him upon the first vacancy. Next

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[1] [Lord Cornbury. — EDITOR.]

[2] "*Samuel Bonas* is a prisoner still. He was confined for one year, which is out within a few days; he has been patient in suffering and is well esteemed by all friends." — *Extract from letter of Rachel Preston, dated Philadelphia, 30th 7br.*, 1704. He was imprisoned in Rhode Island on a religious scruple. — L.

[3] Extract of S. Preston's letter, dated Philadelphia, 1st 6th-mo.,

morning being second-day, the governor sent for Col. Quary to consult with him what was to be done. Quary claimed the right of preferring one to the place, and pleaded from some of the commissioners' letters he had good reason to pitch upon that person. The governor desired to see his commission, which when produced was found to contain nothing to that purpose, yet still he insisted on it. The governor appointed to meet him at Quary's own house in the afternoon, and accordingly went, but found Quary, without further hesitation, had already granted Moore a commission and settled him in the place, upon which the governor, saying what was proper modestly to assert his right of being concerned in it, without making any exceptions against the person, as not being then seasonable, left them, and now John Moore is her Majesty's collector for the port of Philadelphia, at least for the time being.

Of what consequences this may prove I need not here mention, but it may easily be concluded from that man's rapacious temper, who is well known to regard no interest but his own, and makes use of offices and great names, only as they can be subservient to that and the exigencies of his family. John Bewley is dead, who could best inform of his expressions in relation to that office, and particularly of his saying that were it in his hands he should find a way to make his remittances to the Crown much shorter to that purpose, and he has been heard to say, when speaking of thy over-officious compliance with the orders of the Crown, as it has been thought by some here, in sending away the pirate's money, that had it been in his hands, he would sooner have lost his neck than parted with one farthing of it, though all the secretaries of England had wrote for it. But 't is needless to mention those passages to one so fully acquainted with him.

I bear no personal ill-will to the man, yet cannot think but that Quary is in vain appointed surveyor, over a person in that office, for whom he is under such obligations to provide. Here

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1704: "We have lately buried John Bewley, our collector, who will be much missed in his place. If the man who now represents him, viz., John Moore, should be continued, we shall have cause to say (I fear) the change is no small disappointment to this port." — L.

is one Henry Brook, a young gentleman now in town, grandson to Sir Henry Brook, of Norton in Cheshire, who, for the conveniency of a younger branch of the family of which he is, came over hither about two years ago collector of Lewes, which place was by an unworthy abuse of some under the commission fobbed upon him, instead of New Castle at first promised, and granted to him by the board; but delays being thrown in the way, Lowman found an interest to worm him out of it. He will stand candidate for the place, has an interest in some of the lord treasurer's family, though not so well known to himself, particularly in his brother Charles Godolphin, one of the present commissioners, and his sister, M. Boscawen, who lives with her son-in-law, Philip Meadows, at Kensington. I really take him to be a young man of the most polite education and best natural parts that I have known, at least before his time, thrown away on this corner of the world, and am confident would acquit himself with much honor wherever he is concerned: he has wrote to the persons above mentioned, whose interest with their brother, the treasurer, may be of great service, and if thou wilt be pleased to back it, this place, I believe, would find itself much obliged to thee, as well as he in particular.

Col. Seymour, present governor of Maryland, has lately made this place a visit; he arrived on the 15th instant. Quary only and some of his friends had notice of his arrival, by a trick of Quary's man; upon which, no others knowing it, and his arrival being late at night, he took him to his house, where he staid till the 20th. Thy son was at Pennsbury, but came down upon advice of it. He dined once with us, and once with Richard Hill. Presently upon his arrival, he made J. Moore his deputy in the vice-admiralty, for which he seemed afterwards much troubled. The governor was then extremely ill of his distemper, and could not wait on him, nor any one else that had an interest in or any acquaintance with him, so that Moore was in a manner pushed upon him of a sudden; but he made many protestations afterwards that upon the least complaint his commission should terminate, and the governor should nominate whom he pleased. He seems a friend to thee and thy interest, loves thy son, takes great freedom in speech, in which he spares neither

Nicholson[1] nor Quary to his face, nor any other with whom he thinks he has reason to be displeased.

Captain Puckle not being yet arrived, is generally given up for lost, and honest Edward Shippen with him. A vessel five weeks ago arrived in Virginia that left him off the Western Islands. We daily expect a company of the Onondagoe Indians, who two months ago sent us notice they were coming to trade with us, which is like to prove very unfortunate, there being no kind of goods for them but powder in town. I doubt we are in great danger of losing those nations. Bear-skins and other peltry being so very low in England, we hear, that the merchants cannot afford any price for them, while in the mean time, the French buy them at high rates, and it is well known that interest chiefly sways these people, and that on that bottom chiefly they build their friendship. It seems very strange that bear-skins should take so great and sudden a fall in price, while the camps are yet as much on foot as ever.

Elizabeth Jackson, after a tedious weakness, died this morning. The violence of the season proves very trying to tender constitutions. The governor is much better than he was; he walks abroad, but is still so weakly he cannot frame himself to write by this opportunity, and requests to be excused, as I must also, for my prolixity, after which I shall not presume to add but that I am, as ever,

Thy dutiful and affectionate friend, J. Logan.

Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson.[2]

[*Extract.*] *28th 5th-mo.*, 1704.

. . . . The governor is a young man of good sense, and hitherto carries very well. Col. Quary is surveyor-general of customs and judge of the admiralty here again, and John Moor (since the death of honest Bewley, last first-day, suddenly) is our collector appointed by the colonel. The person thou hearest of is one Capt. George Roche, from Antigua. He has

[1] Governor of Virginia. — L.

[2] Norris MSS.

bought Christopher Sibthorpe's, and last week has taken most of Samuel Carpenter's warehouses and part of the dwelling-house, and carries on a great trade, especially to Antigua. Samuel Carpenter is out of trade, lives at plantation. He has sold the scales and the Coffee House, and intends to sell off more.

. . . . . .

William Penn to James Logan.

Worminghurst, *12th 6th-mo.*, 1704.

I have, since my last to thee, thine, I suppose via Barbadoes, containing a copy of thine of the 5th 10br., and thine 15th 12th-mo. last, and also that of the 18th ditto, likewise thine inclosed to John Askew, of the 22d 4th-mo., by which I learn of your welfare and my son's safe return from and liking Conestoga, for which I bless God. I have sent thee a great packet by one Daniel, I think, on board Captain Robertson, with which is gone John Lask and one Arbethnight, both Scotsmen, and both recommended to thee, and capable, I am told, to help thee, being scholars, and bred to the business of the pen, one a professor of Friends' principles, and the other kind. I have chid S. Vaus as thou writ, who promised at my leaving the town to write to thee about the several cargoes. No news of Grey, but the Virginia fleet has got safely in, though six men-of-war from France watched them in the chops of the Channel. None of thy letters to son Aubrey, Daniel Whar, Churchill, &c., come that I can hear. Enclose thy packets to John Ellis, Esq., at Sir Charles Hedge's office, at Whitehall, for the Queen's special service, for they come without foul play to me, covering it with a few civil lines to him. By the packet per Daniel goes the Queen's letter to me, and her proclamation about the coin, also the Queen's letter to me about opening a trade with the Spaniards, as in time of peace. I have been more express to my son, which pray him to communicate. I am sorry about the death of my cousin Markham, of which neither thou nor my son say anything, also of the removal of Judge Mompesson to York, both which I learned from cousin Parmyter of the 5th

last month, from York, the Galley coming in 20 days. I would have civilities shown the widow (of Markham) only for his sake, after all faults. Poor man! I hope he made none of the worst ends. I intended to have been further kind, notwithstanding his malicious enemies. I hear the night Col. Evans and my son arrived in your town, Quary and Moore were then a-drinking to a Queen's government. Blessed be God for their disappointment. I struggle for that poor country's preservation, to the wasting of my time and person, besides purse. The Lord bless my labors to posterity! I have read and weighed thine of the 18th 12th-mo. I am glad religion came in upon thy spirit at the door of disappointment and its exercises; thou hast got well by it, however; may a weighty frame prevail to sanctify thy capacity in all affairs, that a good and wise man thou mayst approve thyself to all sorts. I hope to see you by this time twelvemonth, the Lord permitting, and I would hope one country would hold me and mine; thou knowest what I mean. If thou couldst send a vessel to the Madeiras and purchase wines to come directly hither, even George's or Fayal's, which are best, and some Passados, I believe it would be by much the best way of returns, except bills, though, as I have writ, divers have been protested. I have sent a packet by Jo. Martin on board the Good Intent, by whom I believe this will go. All our loves is to thee, and my dear son, and friends as if named, especially Capt. Hill, from whom I have two letters, for which I own myself debtor. God Almighty preserve you all, under the power of what you believe and profess, and then never fear hell, death, and the grave. Farewell.

Thy cordial friend, Wm. Penn.

P. S.—I am afraid Lord Clarendon undid most of what he did for Mompesson. I would have Lowther or my cousin Parmyter attorney-general and register, instead of J. Moore. Consider of it. I should choose the latter, having stemmed the tide about him here. Will J. Jones's potash do? A rare return, and I should be glad of a concern in it. Tell my son I think to send a gardener.

Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, *27th 7br.*, 1704.

. . . . We have unhappy disagreements in our government. The province is disjunct in assembly from the territories, and the assembly and governor cannot agree upon some things in the provincial charter which the proprietor granted the province at his going off, especially about sitting on their own adjournments. The governor, in opposition to this, asserts the power of dissolution and prorogation, which the assembly think inconsistent with an annual election and sittings. Contests have been carried on warmly on both sides, and another assembly in course next month, I fear the consequences, which our secret as well as public enemies foment. By the Queen's orders that oaths shall be administered to all that demand them, Friends are shut out of the judicature: they endeavor to preserve themselves in the mayor's court, but are strenuously opposed, and their attempts to discourage vice, looseness, and immorality, which increase, are baffled by proclamations making void their presentations, and the unhappy misunderstanding between them and the country increases.

William Penn, junior, quite gone off from Friends. He, being in company with some extravagants that beat the watch at Enoch Story's, was presented with them: which unmannerly and disrespectful act, as he takes it, gives him great disgust, and seems a waited occasion. He talks of going home in the Jersey man-of-war, next month. I wish things had been better or he had never come.

. . . . . .

'T is said Maryland is now passing a law to prohibit, or lay severe impositions on all trade with us, which will be greatly to our injury. We have eight or ten vessels that came out of Barbadoes with a fleet arrived, the rest expected daily, which glut, just at this juncture, will run West India goods very low. 'T is I presume a few great dons, whom I could name, designing to monopolize the trade to themselves, are the promoters.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *28th 7br.*, 1704.

HONORED GOVERNOR: — This comes at length by the brigantine Robert and Benjamin, of whom I have so often wrote to thyself and John Askew, and for insurance. Thou art concerned seven twenty-fourths in her bottom and freight, as I have before stated, and one-third of her cargo on the owner's account. We have met with a very great disappointment in her not going home by the Virginia fleet, which if she had done, she might in all probability have made our money sterling, and as it is, we hope will bring it near the exchange, viz., 50 per cent., if not still more unfortunate than we can foresee. Thy success at sea is so very discouraging, that I should never be willing to be concerned more this way, and William Trent, who has hitherto been a partner in most of thy losses, almost protests against touching with any vessel again where a proprietary holds a part. I hope, however, she will arrive safe at last, and bring some effects to hand. The bills of lading and general invoice are sent to John Askew, to whom I have made bold to consign thy part this time, because he is in part concerned in her himself, and therefore hope he will be more careful in disposing of her to advantage.

I cannot foresee when I shall ever be so happy as to be able to give thee encouraging accounts of thy affairs here; they seem every day to look with a more and more melancholy aspect, and I am sorry I must now turn my pen to so unhappy a subject as the present state of public affairs here.

The governor I doubt not will be particular himself, but I must also take leave to write my thoughts with the same freedom always done on all subjects hitherto, though I believe I can scarce say anything but what his pen will touch.

I, in several letters by Virginia, Boston, Barbadoes, and the Madeiras this summer, have given thee an account of the dilatory proceedings of the assembly after their entire separation from the lower counties, which method they still continued till the ——[1] of last month, when, upon a sharp fit of sickness of the

[1] [This is blank. — EDITOR.]

governor's, they broke up of themselves, without one bill being past, declaring that till the point of dissolution and prorogation were conceded, of the power of which they would have the governor divest himself, they could not think it proper to proceed to any other business. They presented in all, three bills to the governor: the first for explaining the city charter, in which they had crowded so many extravagant privileges and new grants, under pretence of removing doubts, that Judge Mompesson affirms that of London is not to be compared to what they would make it; this was so very far out of the way that the governor and council could scarce think it worth while to enter upon the consideration of it. The third was a bill for confirming property, in that they brought in all the clauses of the great charter thou left imperfected at thy departure, with the addition of several other clauses; some of them are not to be found fault with, others less reasonable, but with very little regard anywhere to thy interest. This also, because the first was not got over, was but little considered. The bills are all drawn by David Lloyd, the speaker, and exactly come up to what may be expected from his temper. He professes all the fairness and candor that is possible to the governor, but some are of opinion, especially his father-in-law, who does not draw with him, that he would endeavor to make use of thy lieutenant against thyself, but he is much mistaken in the man: the governor has too much honor to be made use of. David professes so much zeal for the public good, that with the joint endeavors of J. Wilcox, a representative for the city, and one or two more, he has gained too great an ascendant over the honest country members to let thy interest be considered as it ought. Next 2d-day, the first of 8br., there will be a new election, and I fear much such another set of members chosen for this place as before, to which I doubt not the following passages will contribute, being so improved by some to serve the ends desired.

The governor, upon the Queen's letter from the Lords of Trade, commanding him to put the province in a state of defence in this time of war, thought himself obliged to his utmost to establish a militia, and accordingly settled three good com-

panies in this town, as I have wrote before; but because the service was all voluntary, and many of the soldiers begrudging their time and labor without any manner of recompense, it was proposed, for an encouragement, that all persons who would enlist themselves should be exempted from all services of the wards, as watching, constables, &c.; and accordingly the governor issued a proclamation, of which a copy is inclosed, for that purpose. Upon this, those of the church party, who desired to discourage a militia, refused to watch at all, because all would not, and thereby gave many occasion to discourse of the proclamation. Not long after this, the watch, meeting with a company at Enoch Story's, a tavern, in which some of the militia officers were, a difference arose, that ended with some rudeness. Next night, the watch coming again to the same place, and thy son happening to be in company there, was something of a fray, which ended with the watch's retiring. This, with all the persons concerned in it, was taken notice of the next mayor's court that sat, which was the third of this month; and not any regard had to names by the grand jury, beyond whom it did not pass. The indignity, however, put upon the eldest son of the founder of their corporation, so early after the date of their charter, is looked upon, by most moderate men, to be very base; and by him, the governor, and all others concerned in the government not quite of their party, is deeply resented as a thing exceedingly provoking; and it had its effects, in some measure, accordingly; for the court at the same session proceeding against Enoch Story for disorders in his house, his attorney put the Queen's orders upon them, and desired that the evidence against him, being one that could swear, should take his oath, which the court not being able to administer, there being no juror amongst them, they proceeded upon his attestation only, and brought the matter, I think, to a judgment. Upon this, Story petitioned the governor in council, that, according to the said ordinance, the proceedings might be declared void; and accordingly the governor issued his proclamation, which those skilled in the law, among whom Judge Mompesson, advised as the proper method. A copy of the proclamation is also inclosed. About this time the Lord Cornbury, being at Burlington with

the assembly of that province immediately after the yearly meeting there, took a voyage down the river to visit Gloucester and Salem, and to view the river: but upon his last arrival at Burlington, and to the time of his undertaking that voyage, it was confidently reported that, upon his design of visiting New Castle likewise in his progress, 1st of 8br., his business there was to take possession of our lower counties, for which, it was given out, a commission was granted by the Queen, but not yet arrived. This, I doubted not, was false; yet, least he might tamper with any of the disaffected there, I resolved to go down by land, to observe him, but found nothing like what had been so freely talked of. In this time the proclamation for Story was issued; so that, whether it please thee or not, I can claim no manner of merit in it. The corporation was exceedingly disturbed at this, and resolved to complain to the governor by way of remonstrance, a redress of their grievances exhibited in three heads, given last 7th-day writing, of which a copy is inclosed; and upon failure, resolve to apply hence to their superiors; by which whether they mean thee or the Queen we know not, but by their expressions some of them seem to give out that they are assured their gracious sovereign will have a very tender regard for their sufferings, and as soon as heard, plentifully pour out relief upon them; and yet one would reasonably think they might learn to be wiser, from a passage last 5th-day at Burlington, when a kinsman[1] dissolved the assembly there, without passing an act, though there were several prepared, only because they had granted him no more than £1,500 for one year, and £1,000 per an. for two years more, which by act they were ready to do, notwithstanding the whole province has not three vessels that ever I heard of belonging to it that go to sea, and I am confident, now wheat is so low, is more than could reasonably be expected from them, the whole government having no trade but with this province on the western side, and York on the other; but "Quos perdere vult Jupiter prima dementat,"[2] it must be our fate, it

[1] Of the Queen's, whose mother was the Lady Ann Hyde, daughter of the great Earl of Clarendon. Lord Cornbury's father was probably first cousin to the queen. — L.

[2] It is with difficulty I can make out the English from parts of the

seems, in conformity I doubt with all the rest of the English dominions; for I am of the same mind still as this time twelve months ago. But to return:

Mr. William, incensed at the barbarous treatment he received from the corporation in that act of theirs, thought himself obliged no longer to keep any measures with such as, making more than ordinary pretences to religion, could so little observe any rules of decency with him, or gratitude and respect to their founder; and, therefore, to show he would have no more communication with men of that temper, indulged himself in the same freedom that others take, upon a visit the Lady Cornbury made to this place, whilst his lordship sat at Burlington, and so seems resolved to continue. Notwithstanding this, he still expresses such a tender regard to his father's profession, that nothing can disturb him more than to hear it unkindly treated. He is still for espousing the cause, though angry with the men, and declares that in his heart it will ever be his only religion, though he thinks fit to decline all the outward appearance of it. He is just now returned from Pennsbury, where he entertained the Lord and Lady Cornbury; and, what we could not believe before, though for a few days past he has discoursed of it, assures us that he is resolved to go home from York in the Jersey man-of-war, and within a week, at furthest, designs to set off from this place. Byerly, the collector of that place, has offered to supply him with money, to be paid again as it can be raised from his lands here, of a considerable quantity of which he intends to dispose, if he can possibly induce some chapmen he has in view, on whom I also had a design, and had been treating with them about Letitia's, though he should sell considerably under the value. This will put me in no small hurry to dispatch such papers with him as I can possibly get ready, and provide at the same time for New York, where, to be sure, I must accompany him.

About a month ago the Indians of the Five Nations, that I

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old copy, from which I write. If the Latin * is bad, it is surely an error of one of the transcribers. — L.

* [Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat. — EDITOR.]

mentioned in my former letter, at length arrived here, very seasonably, after we were furnished with goods by Puckle, whom we had long before utterly given up for lost, and had a treaty with us, which we hope may prove of service. But it is by no means agreeable to Lord Cornbury, who, with all the government of York, is jealous that we should have anything to do with these people.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *3d 8br.*, 1704.

Yesterday being the time appointed by charter for elections, David Lloyd, Reese Thomas, Joshua Carpenter, Joseph Wilcox, Jno. Roberts of Merion, Edward Bolton, Edmund Orpwood, and Francis Rawle were chosen for this county, and Tho. Masters and Charles Read for the city. Jno. Budd and Benj. Wright were chosen to be presented to the governor to nominate one of them sheriff; but at the time of election, the governor giving them his opinion that they had not a right to elect sheriffs this year, the time for it being only once in three years, and that since their first right to elect, which was 8br., 1702, there were but two years elapsed, he resolves to continue in the same, and for this year will not, I suppose, commissionate either of those

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"At a council, 2d 7br., 1704,* the attorney-general informed the board that last night there had been a great fray in the city, between the watch and some gentlemen, that the gentlemen had received great abuses from the watch, who were backed by the mayor, recorder, and one † alderman, that the peace had been broke, and several persons injured, and the mayor and recorder being (according to his information) concerned as parties, the tryal could not be brought into the city court, and therefore he laid it before the governor whether a tryal ought not to be ordered in some other proper court? Witnesses were examined, and the mayor, recorder, and Jos. Wilcox (alderman) being summoned to appear at the board, came and vindicated themselves from being any otherways concerned in the fray than as in duty bound to quell the disturbance."

* [In the volume of minutes as published by the Commonwealth, there is no minute of the date of *2d 7br.*, 1704. — Editor.]

† Tradition says that he seized the governor, who was one of the gentlemen's party, and (the lights being put out) gave him a severe drubbing, redoubling his blows upon him as a slanderer when he disclosed his quality. — L.

returned; but next year their right of election of course returns. I know not whether this may not breed some disgust, the people groundlessly imagining that 't is designed all their privileges will be invaded; but 't is thought convenient that young Capt. Finney should be obliged, and continued. To-day the mayor and aldermen waited on the governor, according to appointment, for an answer, and received one, of which a copy is enclosed, at the council table; and this also being the day for electing a new mayor, Griffith Jones is chosen, and was presented to the governor to be qualified according to charter: they have also received Joshua Carpenter again into their corporation, who was the first alderman nominated by thee in the charter; but, for a vow or oath[1] he had made never to serve under thee again, declined acting, yet now has, it seems, been prevailed upon. He is a great enemy to the militia, and to paying thy tax; I know not whether that may be any part of his merit. He is of himself really a good man, and they say this change in him arises from an abhorrence he has conceived of his former great friend, John Moore, and his practices upon his succession to the collector's place, who has given a general disgust in his new office by his great rigor, though the merchants, for fear of falling under the lash, keep in some measure in with him.

The presentment of thy son to the mayor's court by the grand jury has given so great an offence to others, besides himself, that several have shown their resentment against it as a great barbarity, and some, taking advantage from hence, have in the night-time committed some disorders in the streets, in which himself, I think, has been no ways concerned; complaints have been made of this, and indeed the remonstrance is in some measure grounded upon it. To prevent all occasions from hence, therefore, and to show that it has been by no manner of encouragement from the government, 't is ordered in council that a proclamation be forthwith issued for suppressing of vice, &c., of which one, I suppose, may be ready to come by the man-of-war.

[1] Joshua Carpenter was brother to Samuel, but not of the same religious profession.—L.

David Lloyd being recorder of the city, and likely, in all probability, to be speaker also of the next assembly, from his temper so well known there seems but little good to be expected. The generality, however, are honestly and well inclined, and out of assembly are very good men; but when got together, I know not how they are infatuated and led by smooth stories. David himself makes as great professions as any man, but we can see no good effects of it. He admires Judge Mompesson, who, on the other hand, thinks him and the generality of his adherents, to be little better than a pack of ungrateful k——s, as I suppose thou wilt find by his writing, and seems of opinion that thou wilt be much in the wrong to thyself if thou slips the opportunity of advantage through any regard to them.

Upon the whole, as to myself, I am lost in a wilderness at the thoughts of it, and know not how to express my sentiments. The part thou hast hitherto had to manage in the world will not suffer thee with any honor utterly to desert this people; and on the other side I cannot see why thou should neglect thy just interest, while no more gratitude is shown thee. Were one man from amongst us we might perhaps be happy; but he is truly a promoter of discord, but with more bitterness, with the deepest artifice under the smoothest language and pretences, yet cannot sometimes conceal his resentment of thy taking, as he calls it, his bread from him; this expression he has several times dropped, overlooking his politics through the heat of his indignation. I cannot but pity the poor misled people, who really design honestly, but know not whom to trust for their directors; they are so often told that things want to be mended, that at length they are persuaded it is the case, and not knowing how to do it themselves, believe those who can discover the disease are the most capable to direct the proper remedies; how ends may be gained thus is easy to imagine. I have a tenderness in my own thoughts for the people, but cannot but abhor the appearance of baseness; I believe in the whole assembly there are not three men that wish ill to thee, and yet I can expect but little good from them. Thy friends in the council are disabled from serving thee with the country by their being so, for they are looked on as ill here as the Court party at home, by those

that some reckoned the honest men of the country. I am sorry we have lost, this election, two or three good men that were in the last, as Samuel Richardson and Nicholas Waln, who is now pretty right, but especially my late landlord, Isaac Norris, who was the chief man of sound sense and probity amongst them, and the greatest clog in their way. . . . . I was never under a greater depression of thought than for these few months past. Thy estate here daily sinking by the country's impoverishing, with thy exigencies increasing, suffer me not to know what any of the comforts of life are, and this business of Wm. Aubrey's is a heavy addition. I write this to thyself, and cannot forbear saying he seems to me one of the keenest men living, but believe I write no news. This intolerable interest weighs heavy, and yet we are furnished with no means to ease it: what is hitherto due I hope to clear this winter, but we have no power to make any manner of title, either to lot or lands, till new writings are received; they are both already confirmed by patent, and by the recital of these patents must be made over to the trustees, and then a firm letter of attorney given by them, witnessed according to our law by persons that can be present here to prove it, otherwise no title can be made. I have £500 of this money of theirs at interest, which I hope to receive in by some means or other against the spring, and there was more than £300 of that estate made use of, the first year after thy departure, when I straitened so much to make returns, and hoped in a little time after to be able to repay it, from the sales of land we had made, not fearing then so great a disappointment in business, nor knowing anything of Letitia's marriage — of this £200 went to pay part of Solomon Warder's bill of £450 — but I now dearly repent it, though what I did was of necessity. I shall use my utmost endeavors to keep touch with William Aubrey and clear off all in my hands, or rather what I have disposed of, for in my hands I have nothing. And must also, upon the clause in the letter of attorney to Richard Hill and Reese Thomas, where thou gives them power to sue me for that interest money, take leave to assure thee that ever since six months after thy departure thou hast never been less than £100 in my debt upon a fair account, besides that I have several times given my

own bonds to answer engagements in thy affairs, and have never since had £20 of my own by me, nor can at this time, with anything of my own that I have kept in my hands, pay for a suit of clothes when I want them. I have ventured, it is true, some small matters of wheat, bread, and flour, &c., to sea on my own account; yet when returns have been made for it, they have been melted down always with the rest to answer thy occasions. Money is so scarce that many good farmers now scarce ever see a piece of eight of their own throughout the whole year; what there is, as I have often said, is in town, and, therefore, neither rents nor other pay can be had in money, and wheat for two years past has been worth very little. The pay for the land sold near New Castle now becomes due, and is above £3,000, but I have not yet received £200, and that too in bread and flour, nor will ever one-half of it be paid, unless times much mend, thy land, as in many other places, will be thrown on our hands again. The business of Susquehanna is much the same. I wish thou could be here thyself, for I cannot bear up under all these hardships: they break my rest, and I doubt will sink me at last; there is none that puts in a proportionable hand to help to ease; and I am sure, however, I may be blamed for want of better success. I have been so true to thee, that I am not just to myself, and had I now a family, it would appear that there has scarce been a greater knave in America to another's affairs than I have been to my own: but at this distance these things will scarce be believed; I want therefore thyself here. The Queen's proclamation for altering the money is just come over, but will answer no one good end that I know of, it is so very much confused and perplexing. I design a copy of this by the man-of-war, and the exemplifications of those patents I mentioned, if I cannot now get them ready. I have been desirous that this vessel should go in company of the frigate for convoy, but the master and the other owners are very unwilling, believing she would be served as the Industry was before, when left as soon as at sea, after two months waiting at York for Capt. Catterval. I hope, whatever becomes of her, insurance is made, and that will be some recompense should she miscarry. I have put on board of her for thy use a hogshead of very good Madeira wine, charged

at £24 per pipe, but the cask being six gallons overgaged comes to £14 with the cask and charges. . . . .

Poor Susanna Reading having been long in a miserable condition here, and very desirous to return to her relations, I have procured her a passage in the vessel, for which I must answer £12, and she has given me her note for £8 sterling, enclosed, payable to John Askew; if thou thinkest to take the money, thou may deliver the bill to him, and she will endeavor to get it of her friends there; her husband pays £8 sterling besides; hers is for herself and child, or if thou please to give only thy own part, the rest will be £5 13s. 4d. I could not beg her passage of the rest, otherwise should have charged nothing.

Mr. William last night sold his manor on Schuylkill for £850 to William Trent and Isaac Norris; they were unwilling to touch with it, but he was resolved to sell and they careless of buying, for without a great prospect none will meddle now with land unless under a necessity.

To-day, Griffith Jones, the new mayor, treats the governor and council. Thy son will be there: he is like to leave us in some anger; my utmost study shall be to keep things calm and easy till thou hast time to do for thyself, which I wish were speedy, still not forgetting the honest among this people, as thy own honor. The last proclamation about Story was very seasonable on the governor's account, to exempt him from blame with the ministry: he, by that, having prevented Quary's complaint, in answer to three several letters, he says, from the Lords of Trade, on that subject, which he was ready to send over, of its not being observed; but had I been in his place I should have done my utmost to have prevented it. I cannot add but that I am, with due respects to thyself and the family, thy faithful and obedient servant, J. Logan.

8br. 6th, 1704.

David Lloyd to G. W., &c.

A Letter accompanying the "Remonstrance."

Philadelphia, 3*d* 8*br.*, 1704.

Honored Friends G. W., W. M., T. L.:[1]—This comes along with a representation or remonstrance[2] from the General Assembly of this province to William Penn, and I am requested, in behalf of the inhabitants here, to entreat that you would lay these things before him, and get such relief therein as may be obtained from him, and if you find him still remiss in performing his promises or engagements towards us, or making terms for himself, as he calls it, we desire you will be pleased by such Christian measures as you shall see meet, to oblige him to do the people justice in those things [in] which this representation shows he has been deficient.

Here also is inclosed a copy of a bill, which this last assembly prepared to be passed into a law, that the affirmation should pass, instead of an oath: be pleased to consider the reason and necessity of our having such a law, and solicit the Queen about it, for we cannot find that William Penn has done anything for our relief in that particular; but his deputy here has given forth a proclamation to declare the proceedings of our courts null and void in all causes where the procedure is without oath, though the affirmation is looked upon by the generality of the people who are not of our persuasion to be as binding as an oath. This proclamation, as also another proclamation for raising a militia, are pretended to be made to recommend Wm. Penn's administration to the favorable notice of the Queen; but to our sorrow we find they prove screens to the most abominable wickedness, as well as to weaken the hands of Friends in the suppressing vice and debauchery, and not only so, but the said proclamations, especially the last about oaths, leaves a door open for the greatest malefactors to escape unpunished, and shuts out Friends from being magistrates, and by consequence lets in the vilest of men to the administration of justice. We desire your utmost

[1] George Whitehead, William Meade, and Thomas Lawrie probably. —L.

[2] [This is not copied by Mrs. Logan, nor do we know of its existence. The heads of it are given in 1st vol. Votes of Assembly. —Editor.]

assistance in this thing. Here are also inclosed duplicates of our addresses to the Queen. They have been sent several ways. I hope some will come to hand.

Our assembly have agreed to raise £100 this year, and I presume will, at their next meeting, make it an annual fund to defray the charge of a correspondence which they desire to have settled for negotiating the affairs of the province, for you now see how we have been abused trusting to William Penn.

We have sent an address to him, along with those to the Queen, dated in the 3d-mo. last, since which we found that he had not got our laws approved of by the Queen, nor obtained any relief for us, against the inconveniency we labored under by reason of her late order about oaths, which we expected from him, and also we have had reason, since that address, to change our opinion of his deputy, who has much altered his measures in government, from what he then, and all along before that time, gave us assurance of. The tokens we had of his closing with our enemies, and plain demonstration of his master, William Penn's, neglect towards us, before the assembly ended, moved us to deal thus plainly with William Penn, and if he shall endeavor to make representation, inconsistent with the address, I hope you will consider that the representation is three months after the address, in which time observing all passages that occurred to our notice, we found sufficient cause to alter our opinion, and fall upon these measures, and the address being signed three months before the representation, by order of the house, it could not be recalled, else I believe it would.

Friends, it's the public cries for your assistance, which I hope will excuse me, who am unknown to you, thus far to trouble you. I suppose you will have a more ample account by others of the condition this poor province is brought to by the late revels and disorders which young William Penn and his gang of loose fellows he accompanies with are found in, to the great grief of Friends and others in this place. If there were an able counsellor at law that were a person of sobriety and moderation, but not in William Penn's interest, commissioned by the Queen to be judge of the province and lower counties, as also of the Jerseys, which they, as well as we, extremely want, and

are also willing to support, I doubt not but his place may be worth 4 or 500 per annum, besides fees and perquisites, and the business of their provinces may be easily performed by one chief judge, with certain associates which the respective counties, as he goes his circuit, will supply. I desire you may use your endeavors to get such a man. Here was one Roger Mompesson, who we thought to engage in that affair, but he being judge of the admiralty, and chief judge of the supreme court at New York, he could not stay here. Besides, he was too much in William Penn's interest, and given to drink, so that he did not suit this place so well. This, with unfeigned love, is all at present from Your friend to serve you in what I can,

DAVID LLOYD.

[An old paper, in James Logan's handwriting, which appears to be in justification of himself, gives the following account of the rise of this remonstrance, and of David Lloyd's extraordinary conduct respecting it, as follows. — L.]

But when Governor Evans came in, and the assembly elected before his arrival, of which David Lloyd had been chosen speaker, was to act as a house, then was a proper scene presented, and accordingly he acquitted himself. After some endeavors for a reunion of the province and territories, one of the first things proposed to that house were the Queen's commands for our contingent to New York, with which the assembly thought not fit to comply, and accordingly answered, but in very becoming language. The governor was so unfortunate as not to think that answer sufficient, but pressed the house further to consider those commands; upon which the speaker, in a large written message, which was read to the house, showed his resentments, and, in answer to a message on which I was sent to the house, taxed the governor of mistaking himself in offering to contradict the mind (as he called it) of the assembly, and which laid a foundation for the first misunderstanding with that governor. The same afternoon, as I remember, in answer to another message, on which I was also sent, he told me abruptly

that the house had other matters under consideration: they were considering, he said, whether they could own the governor's commission, or act in conjunction with him; an answer not the most proper, any discreet man would think, to be sent to the governor within a very few days of their meeting, to a message quite foreign to any such debate: I say, had it been true the house were on such a debate, such an answer to a very friendly message must be accounted angry and indiscreet; but it happened there was no such debate, nothing like it, under the house's consideration; of which a member, then rising up, thought fit to take notice of in my presence, and desired that I might not carry this answer to the governor, the speaker having no authority from the house to give it. What debates this might afterwards occasion in the assembly after my departure, I know not; but from that time I knew a party was made to quarrel with the governor's commission till, after tedious disputes, the council allayed those contentions; and from thence were occasions taken to discourse of everything from the first foundation of this government that would admit of any turn to the proprietor's disadvantage; but the principal was that, in his commission to Governor Evans, drawn, as 'tis supposed, in haste, by a copy in the proprietor's own hand, by him, of that to Gov. Hamilton, which last-mentioned was prepared and finished before the charter of privileges was in being, there was one or two clauses which seemed not consistent with that charter. Upon this, with some other heads then resolved on, it was concluded, just at the close of that session in the month of August, that a representation should be drawn up to the proprietor. The heads were put in writing, and read in haste in the house as it was about breaking up; and in the same haste it was ordered that about eight members then nominated should be a committee for that purpose, of which members, some being known to have a due regard to the proprietor in his station, and very fit to be employed in such an affair, the rest of the house acquiesced in it. But this order, as it was then drawn up in the house, would not, it seems, come up to the end that David Lloyd resolved to employ it: he therefore new-vamped it, and added the minute in his own hand what he thought fit, as afterwards fully appeared

upon view to those whom it concerned to inquire into it; of all which, here alleged by me, there are now those in this place, of unblemished credit and undoubted veracity, who were witnesses, not only in the house, but some of them afterwards viewed the interpolated minute. Under pretence of this order, David Lloyd prepared a most virulent, unmannerly invective against the proprietor, dressing whatever had been mentioned in the minute by the house in rude and most affrontive language, and foisting in other matters that he had no shadow of pretence for; nor did he ever, as far as could be learned by inquiry, confer with or consult upon it with any one of the persons appointed but Griffith Jones and Jos. Wilcox, whom he knew to be the readiest to countenance the design. After the year that house could sit was expired, and the assembly of course dissolved, and a new election made, and he no longer speaker, viz., on the 2d or 3d of October, he brought it finished and fair drawn, under the title of "A Remonstrance," but not yet signed by him, to some of the rest; but he having [drawn it?] without consulting them, and the assembly being of course dissolved, they refused to be concerned in it.

Thus the monstrous invective drawn by David Lloyd, or at best with J. W.'s and G. J.'s assistance, though the former has denied it, instead of a letter to be prepared by the persons appointed, and without further approbation, he had the temerity to sign as speaker, and in the name of all the freemen of Pennsylvania, abusing their proprietor and chief governor, not only with gross falsehoods, but in the most unmannerly terms that could be used on such an occasion; and not being content to send it thus to the proprietor himself, he inclosed it to two persons known to be the most disaffected to the proprietor of any of their profession in England, joining with them G. W., from whom also, it seems, he had some hopes; and with it sends them a letter, in the same dialect, in relation to the proprietor, of which I herewith publish [furnish?] a copy, and soon shall have further occasion to speak.

The next assembly, hearing of this remonstrance, required an account of it, had it read in the house, condemned it forthwith, and ordered David Lloyd to write a letter to its bearer, who had

put into New York, requiring him to send it back. Whether this letter was delivered or not, I cannot say, but 'tis certain he wrote to Robert Barber, who was the bearer of another letter, in which he charged him, notwithstanding any orders he might receive from any person whatsoever, to keep the packets he had committed to him, and deliver them in England as directed; but the man being taken into France in his passage home, he lost them all; and a friend of the proprietor's, happening to be a fellow-prisoner in the same place, meeting with them after they had been opened by the enemy, carefully picked them up, and got leave to carry them with him to England; so that all the letters David Lloyd had wrote relating to this affair, were delivered into the proprietor's own hands.

After this miscarriage, and after the house had disowned this remonstrance and ordered it thus to be recalled, one might reasonably conclude a full period might be put to that forever; but David Lloyd would not thus be defeated in his design: he again sends a duplicate of it to the same hands, to be used for the same purpose to which the first was intended; but finding himself, as it appears, unable, notwithstanding he has had some tolerable opportunities for it since, to procure this supposititious remonstrance to be made the legitimate act of the assembly, he resolved, though surreptitiously, to get it adopted. He accordingly, some time after, found a new assembly that were free enough in finding faults, and telling not only the proprietor of them, but those other persons also that I have mentioned. To these persons was a copy of a new remonstrance sent, which was designed for the proprietor; and this was really the act of the house; and in this, complaining of grievances in general terms, David craftily adds in the margin, by a note of reference wrote in his own hand, "See the remonstrance of the assembly in 1704;" such mean and ungenerous shifts will the bitterness of some tempers oblige them to submit to; and he has skill enough himself in the law to know that such practices as fixing on the whole body of the people the overflowing of his gall, the sending in their name, but without their approbation or knowledge, and engaging them in a kind of war with their rightful governor, and contradicting their orders sent by his own hand for recall-

ing that remonstrance, would, in some of the Queen's dominions, were the same to be acted there, be atoned for by a punishment too gross to be named here.

To make any observation on this relation is almost unnecessary; his baseness to the proprietor in the whole, his treachery to the assembly and great abuse of his trust, so clearly appear as scarce to admit of any aggravation; nor is there occasion to say more of his letter to G. W., W. M., and T. L., than barely to expose it; his undertaking to write of affairs so nearly concerning the public to strangers, to whom this province stands in no relation, pitched on principally because two of them were known to be the proprietor's adversaries; his great misrepresentations, particularly in what he says of the governor's proclamation about oaths; his representing that, as Friends are shut out, by consequence the vilest of men [are] let into the administration; his undertaking to give £100 a year of the public money for an annual pension to these men without any authority for it; his invalidating the assembly's former address, full of respect and kindness to the proprietor, and pretending to account for the inconsistency of their genuine address and his adulterate remonstrance by the idlest excuses; his encouragement, without authority, to those strangers to us, to obtain a chief justice with the Queen's commission, whilst the government is in the hands of the proprietor, and thereby to violate the royal charter, on which the whole constitution of this government depends; his making it an objection against a magistrate in this province, that he is in the proprietor's interest, by which he plainly shows that he at least would have none employed that are so; his falsehood and treachery to Judge Mompesson, for whom he professed the highest respect, and deeply engaged to serve him, by procuring, if possible, a salary from the assembly; and, to give one lively instance more of his enmity to the proprietor, I must add that, when most men of conscience or honor, of all persuasions, were moved with a generous horror at the unparalleled abuses, cheats, and impositions put upon William Penn by Philip Ford, his steward and agent, in whom he had confided to the greatest extent when this province was by their means in danger of being thrown into very deep confusion in matters of

property and lands; notwithstanding, David Lloyd found it necessary for him to seem to condole the great unhappiness here, and to several expressed himself desirous to rescue the province out of the oppressor's hands; yet how in reality he stood affected, what were his true inclinations, and how eager he was that that family should obtain their unjust ends, will also evidently appear by the copies of other letters which he wrote to Philip Ford about that affair, which are also hereunto annexed. There are also many other demonstrations of the deep-rooted aversion he bears to the proprietor (to whom notwithstanding he is under the duty of obedience by the king's royal charter) which I could easily produce; but if these I have given, with the constant strain of disrespect expressed in almost all the papers which of late years he has drawn, are not abundantly sufficient to prove him possessed of the malignity I have taxed him with, I confess I have hitherto grossly erred in my opinion. And if I think myself obliged to oppose any of his attempts against that just and honest interest in which I am engaged, I hope that, instead of incurring the censure, I shall gain the approbation of all men of honor who know how to value fidelity and a hearty endeavor honestly to discharge a trust. The satisfaction and confidence I have always had in this, long has rendered me more easy than some thought fit, and it is not without reluctancy I now find myself obliged to appear. What I have here alleged I shall be glad to have an opportunity of proving, and at the same time no less pleased to be heard upon any charge that either the assembly or any others have to bring against me. J. L.

[There is no date to this paper, but it appears to have been addressed to Governor Gookin. Surely, when this history of the remonstrance of 1704 is known, it must cease to be considered as the complaint of the freemen of Pennsylvania against William Penn. — L.]

Hannah Penn to James Logan.[1]

Bristol, *5th 8th-mo.*, 1704.

Esteemed Friend: — As I often thought of thy silence to be long ere thy letter came to my hand, so thou may reasonably think I have been long in answering it; but 't is not too late now to say I took it very kindly, and was well pleased with the particular account thou sent of my acquaintance there, for many of whom I have a real value, and am glad of all opportunities in which I can hear of their increase and welfare. I should have rejoiced with thee in thy happiness, if thy endeavors on the hill had proved successful; but as I always feared the end, so I am glad to find thou hast been enabled to bear the disappointment so well, hoping thou wilt gain some advantage, which affliction, at long run, often brings us; and if Providence make way for your greater union, I shall be pleased to hear of it. This comes by Samuel Hollester, a kinsman's son, whom thou well knows has served his time with Arthur Thomas; but his indifference to his trade, his small stock, and dulness of the times, discouraged his following that, and encouraged his inclination to travel. I know not what he can or will come to, but if it lie in thy way to advise him for his advantage, without being burdensome or troublesome to thee, I shall take it kindly. I am very glad our son likes the country so well, and has his health so well there. 'T is in vain to wish, or it should be, that he had seen that country sooner, (or his father not so soon.) I heartily desire his welfare, and, if there, give him the remembrance of my dear soul. With this comes a letter from his wife; so that I need say the less of her, only that herself and the three pretty children are all very well, for aught I hear, as through the Lord's mercy my three also are, and myself as well as my circumstances will admit; but my family increases apace, which I account a mercy, and yet it sometimes makes me thoughtful, when I look forward. I desire not greatness for any of them, and am well satisfied in their father's kind intention toward them. What I have to desire of thee is, to follow his

[1] [The original is incomplete. — Editor.]

orders, and show thy regards to me and mine by a firm and speedy establishment thereof. My father has had but small encouragement to buy more land there, but by my husband's advice has that of Margaret Martindale, in which I hope thou wilt act for the best advantage of him and his. In some late or past letter I perceive thou accounts I brought over for him £40; but that 's a mistake. I blame not thy memory, knowing 't was but too much incumbered at that time, or thou might remember I told thee that all I received on his account I laid out there on housekeeping or debts, except £20 that money, which only must be set to his account as paid, unless thou have returned any since. I think I did receive, or thou, £25 more of T. Pascalls or Roberts, which pray give him credit for; and please to let me hear what market the workhouse stuffs came to that I left in thine or M. Shocker's hands, that was his also. He writes to thee by this opportunity, as has my husband, who is now in London, and through the Lord's goodness enjoys his health pretty well, through his various fatigues and exercises, and often hopes to see Pennsylvania once more; but the extreme trouble of the sea does a little discourage me as yet. I have lengthened this letter beyond what I at first intended; shall not much more, only to tell thee that our friend Wm. Smith is lately dead, has left a good estate; but what good uses his son Jos. will put it to is very doubtful. Poor Hester retains her integrity, has three fine children, one son and two daughters; her sister Betty one girl, and lives happily; the two elder brothers apparently hurt by their father's death. Richard has been long out of business; is at last gone partner with a young man in London, and gives some small hopes to his friends; but Robert is run out of all, the very professions of his honest father, having bound himself in profession and ceremony to the Church of England, and 't is believed will marry with one of Sir Wm. Cairn's daughters. Wm. Mead's son has done the like, and too many of more inferior ranks followed their example or led the way; but I 'll say no more of that now. Thy and our acquaintance here are generally living and well. Thos. Speed died some time since, and 't is thought his widow will marry with Isaac Hemends. Philip Higginbotham, of Bedminster, buried

his old wife about a year, and is now like to marry with young Dorcas. I refer thee to the bearer for a further account of them, by whom I send thee two pair of good worsted hose, for a token. 'T is a small one; but as returns and times are, I am forced to be more backward to my friends than I otherwise incline to. I say this to excuse the smallness of my present, not to reflect on thy conduct, for I am [1] . . . . . .

. . . . . .

and to other our true friends, as if named, which, with the same to thyself, and hearty well-wishes for thy present comfort and future happiness, I conclude, and am

Thy assured and faithful friend, H. P.

Isaac Norris to William Penn.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 11*th* 8*br.*, 1704.

Honored Friend:—I have thine of Xbr. last per thy son; thy kind remembrance of me and mine I take very gratefully, and lay up thy letters as a treasure of favors. To hear of the addition to thy family was very acceptable. I pray God to bless them to thee. . . . .

This comes by thy son. His return is somewhat sudden, but I suppose the unexpected opportunity by the Jersey hastens it; and I wish that were all. He for some little time at his first coming, till better conveniences could be got, took up with the entertainment my house could give, which his good nature always made the best of. This gave me the favor of his company, and sometimes, as thou requested, to be abroad with him, and I find thy character exact. I love him heartily, and sincerely wish his present and eternal welfare.

Thou wilt, no doubt, have fully all transactions since his and the governor's arrival. Some things seem to jar; but this being out of my province, I shall only take up the commonplace of our opinionated Judge Guest, and wish "the due mean be ob-

[1] [Torn. — Editor.]

served between arbitrary power and licentious popularity, as it ought to be in a well-tempered authority."

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *27th 8th-mo.*, 1704.

HONORED GOVERNOR:—Being yesterday returned from New York, I was surprised to hear of a letter, sent from hence to England, directed to thee, signed by David Lloyd, speaker of the assembly, and in the name of the whole house. I heard the governor first mention it, but the following account is what I had from Isaac Norris, with whom alone of that assembly I have had an opportunity as yet to discourse. At the breaking up of last assembly, when the country members were eager to be gone home, it was concluded by the house, and a minute made of it, that there should be an address drawn up to thee, upon some heads then agreed on,[1] and because the whole house could not attend to it, it was committed to David Lloyd, Joseph Wilcox, Isaac Norris, Joseph Wood, Griffith Jones, Anthony Morris, William Biles, and Samuel Richardson; but they never meeting about it, Jos. Wilcox, as Isaac thinks, drew it up, stuffing it with all the most scurrilous and scandalous reflections, and running upon a great many particulars, not before thought of, or once touched at, by the assembly. David Lloyd contributed his assistance. Griffith Jones and Joseph Wood were privy to it, and agreed to what was done; and besides those, not one person ever saw it, that could be heard of upon enquiry, except Samuel Richardson, who upon a cursory view declared his dislike of it. When they had finished, David, without further communicating it to the persons concerned, signed it as speaker of the house, after the 1st of October, when the assembly by charter is dissolved, and therefore he no speaker at all. To warrant this his signing it, he produces an order for it in the minutes; but that proves to be an interlineation in David's own

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[1] [See 1 Votes of Assembly, part 2d, p. 17, minutes of 26th 6th-mo., 1704.—EDITOR.]

hand, and in a different ink, inserted between the close of the paragraph and the adjournment. The letter runs as if from the body of Friends, and even talks of money given thee by Friends for thy assistance, when the authors of it, and those who are to represent this body, are those four I have mentioned, viz., David Lloyd, whom scarce any man of sense believes to have any religion or principles but that of his interest and revenge; Griffith Jones, whose reputation has been very scandalous, was rejected by Friends, and is not yet received; J. Wilcox, who has long entirely separated, and Joseph Wood, who is professedly of the Church of England; and that it may do the more execution, it is not only sent to thyself, but directed to such of London as they understood to be the most disaffected to thee, as Wm. Mead, &c., to be made use of as they shall see occasion: a piece of the most unparalleled villany, and that needs no observation or remark to aggravate it. The letter, or letters, were delivered to Robert Barber, who went from hence in the brigantine ——, J. Guy, master, to New York; but not liking the vessel, he talked of returning home again, and not proceeding the voyage; which, if he does, 't is possible he may bring back the letters, having had a strict charge to deliver them with his own hand. But if they should arrive, and come into any other hands than thy own, please to give them a copy of this, and I will stand by it here upon the spot, if they think fit to transmit it. I wish I could have more time; but the post goes to-day, and this will certainly be the last opportunity of writing by this vessel. The generality of the assembly who are acquainted with it are much disturbed at it, but know not what course to take, he has such a faculty of leading them out of their depth, and his accomplices in the house drown all others with their noise. Isaac Norris, two days ago, went to David, with five or six more who were members of that assembly, and being very sharp upon him for abusing them so, he told Isaac he is now but a private man, and was not concerned in it, for he is left out last election.

The present assembly, after thirteen days sitting, yesterday presented another bill for confirming and explaining the charter of privileges, containing all that was in the former prepared for

that purpose, with several large additions about elections. It is believed they will scarce do anything but draw addresses and remonstrances, unless the leading members should commit something against the rest so gross that their eyes should be forcibly opened.

So that if thou canst bear to support all the heavy charges of government, both there and here, without any consideration, and suffer wounds from such base, ungrateful men to be repeated against thee, without easing thyself if in thy power, it will appear a patience something above human.

Thy friends are deeply grieved at these proceedings, and sympathize with thee; nay, more, Jos. Growdon declares his abhorrence of them, and their proceedings so far against thee. He, however, that has always stood by thee, I hope will support thee over it all, for his own glory, and thy happiness, which is most heartily desired by thy Most dutiful servant, JAMES LOGAN.

P. S.—Captain Gregory is just now dead. I have inclosed another Act of Maryland, almost as unreasonable as the letter.

Indorsed: "By the Jersey (man-of-war.) (Private.")

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

BRISTOL, *2d 9br.*, 1704.

This is my third by the Biddeford vessel, two by the hand of Edward Lane, old William Lane's son, and this by Samuel Hollister, that, being out of his time with Ar. Thomas, will see what can be done in Pennsylvania for a livelihood, of whom I writ in my last and lesser packet.

I have before me two of thy letters that touch some things as closely, though one of the 3d 2d-mo., and the other 29th 3d-mo.; not but that I have touched already in some of my former letters to thee. But first I will hint at some things I am earnest in, and desire thy notice and dispatch in:

RENTS AND DEBTS.—If thou canst not get silver . . . . by the Madeiras directly hither, as well as by Barbadoes with Madeira wines, send as fast as thou canst turn our cheap corn, flour, and bread into wine, and some wine into sugar, home for

supply. And if it be not advisable to send wines hither directly, the surest profit . . . . here then by the islands. And if that be not worth the while, then take good bonds at country interest, both to secure the principal and interest, to answer interest, as thou hintest in one of thine; and, upon the arrival of this, lose no time in getting such into bonds that make not good pay as above, and especially about the supply and Susquehanna purchase.

Son. — If my son prove very expensive I cannot bear it, but must place to his account what he spends above moderation, while I lie loaded with debt and interest here, else I shall pay dear for the advantage his going thither might entitle me to, since the subscribers and bondsmen cannot make ready pay, according to what he has received, and on his land there. So excite his return, or to send for his family to him; for if he brings not wherewith to pay his debts here, his creditors will fall foul upon him most certainly.

Lands. — Remember the parcels of lands I wrote about to be taken up in my father Callowhill's name, which I acknowledge him to have bought of Richard Snead, Margaret Martindale, Mary Elson, &c. Also pray inquire what has become of Richard Penn's 5,000 acres, and, if not disposed of, lay them out to my behoof, as heir at law, in a good place, Baumont's 300 acres, &c., in Jersey.

Son Aubrey's Affairs. — My father Callowhill having bought out many that have lands there, and a purchase of £1,300 at French pay, is not in cash to purchase my daughter's manor; but if £500 would do, your money, and that with the lot on the front, will make up the £2,000 sterling, I know not what some small time may do.[1] But let me know the prospect you have of the increase of our interests in those parts, now the Spanish trade is open; for I would not venture more upon that country, and insecurity and no returns be the consequence. £30 per annum here is worth more than a £100 per year there, so far from market, redress, safety, and liberty, if the government be changed, and high church domineering.

In the mean time, both son and daughter clamor, she to quiet

[1] [This passage is not clear as to its precise meaning. — Editor.]

him that is a scraping man, will count interest for a guinea, (this only to thyself;) so that I would have you fill his attorney's hands as full as thou canst. I know thou art able to calculate what 's best for me and just to them, and there I leave it. The Lord direct and preserve thee by the renewed baptizings of his power, without which the best cannot hold out well to the end.

For the 15,000 acres, that is in my disposal; as to W. A., I am obliged but to the 2,000, and if her lots and manors amount not to so much, my son has engaged £40 [unintelligible] here to make it good, only I have released to him another estate, intended for her, of £3,000 value.

Charter and Laws. — I cannot imagine what charter thou meanest. If that I refused to seal at New Castle, it 's a blank; if that I executed at Philadelphia, that the lower counties were not included was not an omission or design of mine, and I hope nobody's else; and if our friends will not behave towardly, I shall be constrained to break it; however, the Queen will, if I resign. For the laws I want 50 guineas, if not 100, to get a friendly or a favorable report about them; nor will all be agreed to thee for the greatest part; but to pass them with notification of the Queen's authority will be most passable here. Consult the king's charter to me in reference to that article or clause.

J. Mompesson and Col. Quary. — It was not by a new warrant, but a dormant one, at least a year before J. Mompesson's commission, as Lord Clarendon told me, that Quary was made or rather continued judge of the admiralty, and I suppose he will not hold it long, nor, may be, either of them, in that place; and if our people (I know on the favor or at the secret instigation of David Lloyd) will not lay hold of such an opportunity as so worthy and noble a gentleman of the law puts into their hands, by a due encouragement, they forever deserve to be slighted of all men. They never needed to have feared New England, or Virginia, or Maryland, or Westminster Hall itself, had they made him theirs. His plainness, integrity, sobriety, and judgment not easily paralleled here as well as in those parts.

James Coutts. — I think myself much obliged to him and his adherents, and if a like charter can be there granted I consent that they may be considered for their encouragement; and I de-

sire thee to communicate this to the best and wisest of the council, and of the lower as well as upper counties, and that with the first, which is the best answer I can give to their letter, which I received from James's brother Thomas here. It came to me in hand after our London ships were gone. I have already writ by this opportunity to the lieutenant governor, whose letters were delivered, and I said to Lord Clarendon what he desired or could wish. His mother of late well, and uncle Evans, but now in Cornhill upon his circuit of business. Let my son know all his were well last week. Forget not a rent-roll by the very first, pray; I want it so long. It is more than a year thou writ of sending of it, as I remember.

Quit-rents. — As I should lessen you to a moiety, what may I expect they would raise? To be sure they would give most that pay you and make any shift to compass good pay, though, perhaps, I may never part with them.

Of a Lieutenant Governor, this failing. — The Lords of Trade have frankly promised me another, whom I should name upon the spot to succeed and obtain the Queen's approbation for it; so shall forthwith name one to them, the best I can think upon.

Of Returns. — None yet come from any part thou sent'st any to, to be returned for England, Carolina, Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c., which I admire at. We must for Ireland to eat bread or sell all. I cannot live under so great an interest, 't is impossible.

Evans the Pirate. — I long since writ to thee about this fellow's £100 upon David Powell's house and lot; his sister leads me such a life to know if nothing be coming to her of it, (but I never heard a word of it; I knew J. Claypole had an encumbrance,) much of it wickedly obtained, I fear: however there was forty or fifty pounds left. The man is dead; a word of it in thy next.

Close. — I have done when I tell thee to let my poor son know that if he be not a very good husband I must sell there as well as here, and that all he spends is disabling me, so far, to clear myself of debt, and that he will pay for it at long run. Do it in the friendliest manner, that he may co-operate with me to clear our encumbered estate and honor.

My father and mother and wife send thee their love, and my wife desires thou wouldst give hers to her friends there, town and country. I also, and that in both provinces. Vale.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

I admire at I. Mill and Robert French, to whom I have been so kind.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[*Extract.*] NEW CASTLE, *22d 9th-mo.*, 1704.

. . . . The governor and assembly have clashed so far, notwithstanding all endeavors have been used on our side to keep matters easy, that there seems nothing, or at least very little to be expected from them. They will not allow him the power of dissolving, proroguing, dismissing for a time, or adjourning them, but claim the privilege of sitting at all times, as they shall see occasion, like the Parliament in 1641, which they nearly imitate: they are all for settling constitutions and privileges, without any regard to the public present safety, or making provision for the government. That ridiculous old man, W. Biles, frequently affirms they will never grant one penny on any account till they have all their privileges explained and confirmed; that is, till they have five times more granted than ever they claimed before: witness the city charter bill. And then 't is alleged the governor knows the terms how he may have money, and if the public suffers for want of it, it will be at his door.

We are now come hither to hold a distinct assembly, for the peers designed only to keep them in some order, and to show they are regarded; but each county being represented only by four members little will be done this time: some endeavor to keep in upon the foot of the charter, not through any great liking for it, but that the whole might continue more like one government. But Judge Guest with the designing men of this place seem to endeavor an utter separation, and that this alone may be made the mart for all the people below. The consequence of this thou wilt easily see, and how inconvenient a distinct assembly will be when taken notice of at home, and how inju-

rious to thy interest; but what is done now could not be avoided unless we would wholly lose the obedience of these counties; it depends, therefore, the more upon thee, on whom the burthen always too heavily lights, to hasten a suitable provision. I wish public affairs at home may be in a condition to afford thee an opportunity. The province and territories can scarce ever agree together, but asunder they will never do anything, and, therefore, should be joined on equal privileges, and all charters destroyed, for our own friends are unfit for government by themselves, and not much better with others. We are generally in these parts too full of ourselves, and empty of sense, to manage affairs of importance, and therefore require the greatest authority to bend us. If thou surrender the government and keep the propriety, as I doubt thou must the latter of necessity, the naming of the council as well as the governor will be worth thy consideration, and then of most I know, I doubt there is scarce any man of sense more unfit, or less a friend to thy property, than that weathercock, J. Guest. A desire to be somebody, and an unjust method of craving and getting, seems to be the rule of his life; he has often been of great service, which should of itself be acknowledged, but 't is owing to little good in his temper. It was generally his failings that were laid hold on to lead him to it; and upon the whole, I must give it as my opinion that he is not to be trusted. He is remarkable in one unhappy talent of abusing every past government, and seems fixed to no man: I should prefer even John Moore to him. Poor old Capt. Finney, too, is grown somewhat dotish, and very weak. Jasper Yeates has as much honor, though he has been an enemy, as any I know. But thy son will be very capable of giving thee the later account of men. Besides Capt. Roche, who is but a weak man, though generous, and a West Indian in his life, there is one Richard Sleigh, come lately from Jamaica, a very sober, good churchman, and Col. Cressy from Virginia, and Antigua men of note and substance, and more daily expected; but the first talks of returning, and the last meddles with no kind of business, nor seems altogether fitted for it; the other is a merchant, as Roche is. But our corporation gives many strangers great offence, and will make us odious. James Coutts is a good man, and thy

friend. R. Halliwell, if presented by others, need not now, I believe, be much feared, and would prove as good, perhaps, as R. French. W. Rodney holds with James Coutts against all men. John Hill is honest, but weak, and sometimes silly. Joseph Growdon very much mended, and directly opposite to David in the house; as I told thee in my last, I used some freedom in some of my letters, especially the private ones, which I hope will not be taken amiss: they are the result of my closest thoughts, and when thou art pleased to consider what I wrote concerning thy propriety, and the state of thy family, thou wilt find it, I believe, but too well grounded. It will be no grateful doctrine, I believe, to Mr. William,[1] but I must be of opinion it would best suit thy circumstances, and perhaps not be to his disadvantage, for should thou go off the stage, I know not what would be made of it. I have had some difficulty to carry even between my duty to thee and my regards to him, but I hope I have not miscarried in either. Let me take the freedom to request thee to be very tender to him in thy resentment, least those he has already conceived from the abuses put upon him should by any addition precipitate him into ruin; he has much good nature, wants not very good sense, but is unhappy chiefly by indiscretion.

'T is a pity his wife came not with him; there is scarce any thing has a worse effect upon his mind than the belief thou hast a greater regard to thy second children than thy first, and an emulation between his own and thy younger seems too much to rivet him in it, which, were it obviated by the best methods, might be of service, for he is and must be thy son, and thou either happy or unhappy in him. The tie is indissoluble. What I write will, I hope, be taken as designed, and as the result only of an affectionate concern, knowing I write only to thyself.

25*th* 9*br.*—The assembly, as 't is called here, have past two acts only, and intend no more. The first is for the confirmation of all the laws, and the other for increasing the number of representatives from 4 to 6 for each county. The governor is very earnest for an act to establish the militia; but they are

[1] William Penn, Jr. — L.

resolved not to touch with it till next meeting with advanced numbers. I shall not have time now to send thee any copies. They have made provision in the latter act to come in next time upon the charter, but for no other reason than to keep more like one government, for they hate it as other good men do. We have had no accounts for some months from Europe; we fear 't is owing to some great embargo upon the account of Portugal. Pray excuse my repeating the same things in several letters; they are either such as have great place in my own thoughts, or that I am desirous should have some in thine. I am, with love and duty,

Thy faithful and obedient servant, JAMES LOGAN.

P. S. — I found the catalogue of the books thrown in among the Jersey deeds, and have examined them. There is in Sir W. Raleigh's History, and Purchas's Pilgrims, wanting of the folios; and by the black-lead marks in the margin made at examining them when first brought from Col. Markham's, they seem never to have been there since thy last arrival; if they were I shall recover them, or others in their stead. There is no other folio missing but Braithwait's English Gentlemen, which, with the rest, shall be made good. There never was a greater villain known than he that played the trick, yet was never discovered nor suspected till the day after he left me, by a remarkable providence, that the innocent might be cleared. His father made me promise to be private in it, engaging to make full satisfaction, and hoping it would be the last; but he is mistaken, I doubt. We cannot, by any deeds left here, make out thy title to thy proprietie in the Jerseys, and Samuel Jennings says the council of proprietaries there will admit of none to take up land without producing their deeds or authentic copies of them. The deeds here relate only to Salem, and they want explanation, for there seems something yet wanting to clear that matter fully. This will require a speedy answer: I mean about the proprietie, which I intreat thee send at once.

I hope this following spring to clear off Wm. Aubrey's interest, but we must have a new power, and should have one likewise for the 15,500 acres in New Castle County. The patent

for it is dated 27th or 28th of 8br., 1701, the quit-rent to thee one beaver-skin; but I wish thou couldest have that in thy own hands. Yet now there is an absolute patent for it upon record.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *8th 10br.*, 1704.

Last night, by Walter Groombridge, I received thine dated 5th-mo. last, and now have only time to acknowledge it. Besides my several letters by the Jersey, in company with thy son, I have wrote largely by way of Barbadoes, and shall send a copy, if another opportunity present, to Maryland, before this vessel sails, and by Daniel Zachary [1] from Boston, who in a few weeks designs to sail; but cannot now undertake to answer any part of thy last. My packet by Al. Paxton I hope is come to hand, he, as we hear, being arrived with the rest, since that, being all too much of the same melancholy tenor, will scarce be so acceptable as I could heartily wish.

In that from New Castle I advised of our assembly there, designed only to show them some countenance. The Lord Cornbury has held a new assembly at Burlington, and passed some very strange acts: one for granting the Queen £4,000, another for the militia, &c., all obtained by the greatest breach of English privileges that has been heard of, enough to make our people wiser if they had hearts or heads capable of information. As I perceive thou art apprehensive of parting with the government, if thou thinks fit to endeavor the contrary, the only method I can think of, with submission, will be to let the country know they must of necessity either unite again, and forego that part of the charter, or else be delivered up to the Queen, who will govern them united; and at the same time send them over a charter with the same privileges, that only excepted. But the province is now as averse to a union as the territories are to a separation.

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[1] This worthy man, who had settled in Boston, but had married, in Pennsylvania, a daughter of Thomas Lloyd, upon the decease of his wife went home to England, where shortly after his arrival he also died. He left one son, Lloyd Zachary, who became afterwards a distinguished physician in Philadelphia. — L.

If the war abroad go on with success equal to the actions of July and August last in Bavaria, it is probable thou may be able to make better terms, but to be sure without it the Crown cannot spare money.

I am sorry to find Grove and Singleton have made no more returns. We heard of that island's fleet falling into the hands of St. Paul, and seventeen out of twenty-six being taken. I wish thou may not have suffered there, and admire to see so little care is taken by many of the interest of others they are entrusted with. But I must break off, and conclude,

Thy most faithful and affectionate J. L.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[PHILADELPHIA, 10*th-mo.*, 1704.]

By thy son in the Jersey, and I. Guy in the brig, who sailed from York about fourteen days ago, I wrote several letters, of which three inclosed to John Askew were designed more private than the rest, informing, as fully as I then could, of the state of our affairs, all which I hope will arrive safe. I cannot, without the deepest regret, consider how little satisfactory some of them, and especially their bearer, may prove on some accounts. But as I have had and still have my share of trouble at the thoughts of it, and can truly sympathize with those more nearly concerned, yet as I have endeavored to acquit myself to the best of my power, and have left nothing unessayed which I could think of for his benefit, my conscience yields me the greater ease; and to that I doubt must thy chief recourse be for comfort. I have undergone, I am sure, the deepest pangs of trouble in my own soul for several months past, but hope it will please the Lord to give a greater dawn of consolation to those whose whole dependence is upon him.

The return of thy son and the representation that he brings, with the unhappy effects those have had upon him, accompanied at the same time with that unparalleled piece of baseness from D. Ll., will soon put thee (I doubt not) on measures for thy ease from such an accumulation of troubles. The governor has positively demanded a copy of that remonstrance from the assem-

bly; but David, under pretence of answering the governor's demands in a proper method, by the basest artifice endeavored to persuade the house that they ought first to make it by a recognition, or amendment, as they should think fit, the act of that house, and then they might properly send a copy. But this being too gross to pass, notwithstanding the great influence he has over the majority, composed of designing and weak men, (for of the latter they got as many chosen as they could, that they might be the easier led,) he, as I am credibly informed by some others of the members, owned it as his own proper act, and therefore pleaded as such it was not subject to the house nor any other power. He pretended, indeed, to send for it again, from York, when it was too late; but, upon the whole, he denies a copy, either to the governor or to the meeting of Philadelphia, who have also sued for it. We are now in such circumstances, that I cannot foresee any probability of being brought into regular order again till under the Crown; and it seems all owing to those unhappy charters which, being designed as favors, are made use of by ill men as tools for mischief. There is a general infatuation, as if by a superior influence, got among us, as well as in other places. It seems as if we were all in a ferment, and whatever was impure among the whole people rose in its filth to the top. I wish we may ever be skimmed so as to leave anything pure behind. I am fully convinced,[1] at least that prudence and counsel are much in vain, unless they are made the instruments of the only guiding Power of all human things. We are in the same circumstances here as in England, in regard to public affairs, and perhaps it is as much the fate of the nations as our particular sins. But I am too apt to run out upon such melancholy reflections. . . . .

[1] Perhaps there is an analogy between our circumscribed views of the moral government of Providence in the affairs of mankind, and the sublime glance which modern astronomy opens on the amazed mind, of system attached to system, rolling around some unknown centre too great almost to be grasped by the imagination or measured by the span of human knowledge, yet, haply to an eye that could take in the whole scheme of things, order and proportion and beauty would be apparent, and we should discern that all the dispensations of His providence were ordained in wisdom, conducive to his own glorious purposes and the good of his creatures. — L.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 16*th* 11*th-mo.*, 1704–5.[1]

I think I may say I have all thy letters, as well private as public, from my son, John Askew, &c. A melancholy scene enough always; religiously upon my poor child. Pennsylvania begins it by my absence here, and there it is accomplished with *expense*, *disappointment*, *ingratitude*, and *poverty*. The Lord uphold me under these sharp and heavy burdens with his free spirit. I should have been glad of an account of his expenses, and more of a rent-roll, that I may know what I have to stand upon and help myself with. He is my greatest affliction for his soul's and my posterity's or family's sake. I say once again, let me have a rent-roll, or I must sink, with gold in my view but not in my power. To have neither supplies nor a reason of credit here, is certainly a cruel circumstance. I want to know what I have to stand upon and help myself with.[2]

I want to know what has been sold, what bonds taken, and money received since I arrived in the country, which I desire thee to send most expeditiously, as also duplicate of bonds attested by authority, and that all other business may give way

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[1] The winter of 1704–5 was remarkably severe in America; witness the following extract: "This having been the hardest winter and deepest snow that has been known by the oldest among us, we have had but one post all this season, whose quick return and short notice allows not to enlarge. The river is still fast, and likely to continue so."—L.

[2] [Certain writers of the present century have expended no little ingenuity in their endeavor to reverse the judgment of posterity passed upon Penn as the possessor of great virtues; and other writers, fired by the same spirit of literary emulation, but with a different object, have made it a pleasurable task to endeavor to elevate into decent repute characters upon whom, by a common consent, there has long since been pronounced the deepest condemnation. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Penn's frequent, pressing, and touching entreaties for remittances, and which are so often urged in his letters to Logan, will be made the subject of a fresh charge against his memory. The sacrifice of his life was the establishment of the province of Pennsylvania. He had ventured every thing upon it, and underwent an unceasing struggle to preserve it. His expenses were for him enormous, and his just returns, which it had been solemnly contracted should be paid, were, in the main, withheld by an ungrateful people, who, running

to it, be it of what kind it will. I am also sorry to hear there is no land left to be taken up for me or my abused posterity. The game must be then up indeed; but I can hardly let it enter my thoughts. Is all Thomas Fairman's discovery taken up, and I and mine no sharers in it? forty miles from Philadelphia, and twelve miles by six, surrounded by rocks, of which he seemed so pleased when I was there, or soon after I left you. I have a hundred German families preparing for you, that buy 30 or 40,000 acres; and no longer than yesterday, Sir Charles Hedges discoursed me upon a Swiss colony intending thither, by the request of our envoy in the Cantons; but keep this close, for many reasons; only look out, and keep it in remembrance. I also want the propriety accounts, what, and to whom, and when, and for what.

Thou must pay £25 to the gentlewoman[1] Phillips, for £20 I received here upon her account by remittal of the Bishop of Cloyne, by Edward Hastwell, according to the late standard of value. The Barbadoes fleet, coming home so late, met both with storms of wind and guns, the French falling in among them; so that of 120 sail, not above 80 and odd got in, where out of 40 odd hogsheads of sugar, I have lost 30, and Edward Singleton carried into France. They freighted upon five vessels, one burnt, which Edward came out in, had 10 hogsheads, and two

riot with an excess of liberty, raised all manner of untenable objections against the performance of their duty*—a people who, possessed of every substantial right, were yet unsatisfied, but who would have been very humble and repentant had they been deprived of those privileges which they did not seem to know how to value or enjoy.—EDITOR.]

[1] This lady came over in the Canterbury, in 1702. W. P. wrote to J. L. to supply her with £60 to £70 yearly. He describes her "as a person seeking retirement, her husband living, but an ill choice, and that her misfortune." Several similarly circumstanced came over. Richardson makes Clarissa's friends propose her coming to Pennsylvania.—L.

* In the words of Penn's able biographer, "They invaded his rights—they seized his land—they withheld his rents. Penn mourned in soul at these evidences of faithlessness and ingratitude. He attributed them to ignorance of their duties, to the novelty of their position as legislators, and he again and again found excuses for them in his heart. With a readier logic, Logan traced their meanness and avarice to an excess of freedom; and censured his friend for having given them so much better a charter than they deserved."—*Dixon's Life of Penn, p.* 319, *American ed.*, 1851.—EDITOR.

were taken that had 10 hogsheads each; one of 5, and another of 6 came in; one at sea, a brigantine, which has 7, no news of her; and as for Guy, no news yet. But my son, who has come safe, though near foundering in the Jersey, says he believes she is lost, for after the storm they saw her no more. J. Askew ensured £100 upon thy letter, but the ensurer broke, and the 20 guineas lost. This done upon the former intimations. Ensurers fail much. I have not a word about the East Jersey Friend that was to have paid £900 New York money — I think his name is Stockins — Cousin Tillness's wife's brother, nor of Richard Baumont, of whom I bought 300 acres in West Jersey, as the writings I left with thee show, bought of Biddle by him, and might be applied to secure the island before Pennsbury. 'T was to have been on Rancocas Creek; his widow clamors me much about it. This is the sixth time at least that I have writ thee about it; nor didst thou send me word what my son sold his manor for;[1] but after all he drew a bill for £10 at his arrival, to ride 200 miles home, and which he performed in two days and a night. I met him by appointment between this and Worminghurst; stayed but three hours together. See how much more the bad Friends' treatment of him stumbled him from the blessed truth, than those he acknowledges to be good ones could prevail to keep him in the profession of it, from the prevailing ground in himself, to what is levity more than to what is retired, circumspect, and virtuous. I have writ very copiously to thee by several packets, two by Edward Lane, but a great enemy to Friends, a reviler; two or three by Samuel Hollister, one of my wife's kinsmen: both upon the "Biddeford Factor," or Merchant, via Maryland, of which pray take notice.

Now for the government: Depend upon it I shall part speedily from it, and had I not given that ungrateful and conceited people that charter, and had got but 400 per an. fixed for the governor, and made such good conditions for them, I had had twice as much as I am now likely to have. If I don't dissolve it, that charter, I mean, the Queen will, which, after all, David

[1] The manor of *Williamstadt*, 7,000 acres, bought by Isaac Norris and William Trent, now Norriton township, in Montgomery County, of which latter Norristown is the county seat. — L.

Lloyd's craft and malice despised for its craziness. As for him, he will perhaps be constrained to change the air, and his blackbird too, M——.

For selling all: If I can clear my incumbrances without it I shall do so; if not, then province or territories shall go. But alas! I can neither sell nor borrow till I know what I have to do either; pray mind this, and let it not be said that after five years' time I know not what I have to sell or mortgage, if I would do either. I heartily acknowledge to the Gov. J. Evans, his quietness, good distinction, integrity, and courage. Had he passed those laws, he had destroyed me and himself too. I shall stick close by him in those methods he has taken. For Bewley's place, whose death is a loss indeed, the gang here, Paston, &c., with the Bishop of London, got Moore in, before thine came to my hand, almost a month, if not six weeks; a wonderful thing. That packet, that gave me the first notice of the poor man's death, came via Lisbon, and the Millford that put in there, and cost me £1 11s. 6d., no bill nor cargo, and which crowns all, Guy carried also into France. But besides commission money at Philadelphia, the commission at the receipt and return at Barbadoes, &c., and then once here, reduces it to next nothing. In short, bills there, or goods to Jamaica, if can get money, now the trade is open with the Spaniards, to return, or bills thence, and the Madeiras, are all the returns I would have made.

Pray, carefully penetrate to the bottom of the design of affronting my son. Had I not orders to turn out David Lloyd from the Lord Justices, and to present and punish him, and send word what punishment I inflicted, and that part of it should be that he were never after capable of any employ in the country — and does he endeavor my ruin for not obeying, but offering him to cover himself in the profits under my tolerable name — and did I not do almost as much for ——, who had orders to treat him sharply for his barrels of tobacco in lieu of flour? And has he forgot how I got Quary to drop it, &c., and has —— forgot my boons I have done for him many a day? Well, "all 's well that ends well." But if those illegitimate Quakers think their unworthy treatment no fault towards me, they may find that I can, upon better terms, take their enemies by the hand

than they can mine; and unless the honest will, by church discipline or the government, whilst it is mine, take these Korahs[1] to task, and make them sensible of their baseness, I must and will do so. In short, upon my knowledge of the conclusion of this winter's assembly I shall take my last measures. When the prosperity that attends the country is talked of, and what they have done for me or deputies, that have supported them against their neighbors' envy, and church attempts here and there, they show struck with admiration, and must either think me an ill man or they a base people. That which I expected was 3 or 400 per an. for the governor, and to raise for other charges as they saw occasion; and if they will not do this willingly, they may find, before they are a year older, they must give a great deal more, whether they please or not. I only by my interest have prevented a scheme drawn to new model the colonies — told so by a duke, and a minister too; for, indeed, if our folks had settled a reasonable revenue, I would have returned to settle a Queen's governor and the people together, and have laid my bones with them, for the country is as pleasant to me as ever; and if my wife's mother should die, who is now very ill, I believe not only my wife and our young stock, but her father too, would incline thither. He has been a treasure to Bristol, and given his whole time to the service of the poor Friends' fund, till they made eight per cent. of their money, and next the city poor, where by act of Parliament he has been kept in beyond form, he has so managed to their advantage, that the city members gave our Friends, and my father[2] in particular, an encomium, much to their honor, in the House. Well! God Almighty forgive, reclaim, amend, and preserve us all. Amen.

The young man, John Lisk, I writ of, goes for Archangel. Methinks, of those that go hence, thou mayst find one suitable for thee. Here came the book-thief, dada's own image. That ever there should be such a succession of incomparables! He came for a letter to thee. I took no notice of past offences, used him softly enough. Per next a catalogue; but I would have one thence.

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[1] See the Book of Numbers, chapter xvi. — L.

[2] [Thomas Callowhill. — EDITOR.]

I want a distinct knowledge how the business of the resurveys goes, and what it comes to. That law and two-thirds of the rest are reported blank by the attorney-general; so that they must to work again, and give money or no laws, no government, for I can maintain none; and as for their addresses, I will keep them in piles, instead of affronting royal hands with that man's name for speaker;[1] that is the aversion of the ministry, most, if not all of whom were Lords Justices, or in office when his degrading punishment and disability were commanded against him. My son speaks well of Quary, as most civil to him, and that Moore promised him he never more would vex or cross-grain my interest. Expound this.

For the three bills, they are the scorn of lawyers and men of sense that have seen or hear of them, as also was David Lloyd's hedging-in of the Cuckoo by the New Castle charter. Did I give them a charter for fear I should lose the government, to secure them hereafter, and when I have at my great trouble and charge preserved it and them in authority, and sent them a mild, discreet, and courageous governor, approved by the Queen, in spite of Quary, Moore, &c., to give him no salary, to pay me none of the subscription money, to turn my own charter against me and my posterity, and make head against my officers as if I and they were their greatest enemies, instead of Quary, Moore, &c.? Who ever was so treated? The Lord forgive them their great ingratitude, as well as profaneness, to quit me to follow such a self-interested tool as David Lloyd, that owes his bread to me too. Surely such a people dwell not upon the face of the earth. God I hope will deliver me from them, if they are not delivered from so absurd and sordid a behavior and conduct. And this I command thee to communicate to the guilty as well as the innocent of that assembly who profess the blessed truth. And I desire the governor and my officers will take a little more spiritedness and quickness upon them, and curb their insolencies as strictly as they pretend to do irregularities in the corporation.

S. V. takes great exception to J. Groves consigning the sugars to Edward Singleton, and so he would the goods on Guy if he

[1] [David Lloyd. — EDITOR.]

knew it; wherefore forbear giving him offence, who has been friendly to me; but if no goods come, that will naturally follow. What money did Capt. Bierly lend my son? Direct thy letters to John Ellis, Esq., at the secretary's office at Whitehall, which I have often told thee, and that would save me the heavy postage, and let the governor know as much, for they come safely to hand and speedily, writing on them, *For the Queen's service.* I have sometimes thought if thou didst change the property of the bonds due to me, it might be safer and pass better in pay. I have a mind also to sell off one-half of the quit-rents. If I could have bills or money there to return hither according to the regulation of the coin, except what is due upon English standard, as all those of the province are, I believe the fee farmers would give me twenty years purchase, and that would ease me here; consider of these things, and cast about how to do something that may ease me of my heavy burdens, that have been great and long, and daily increase. Edward Shippen, &c., may catch at such a proposal, so some New Yorkers. Would (that) our people (might) be brought to know their true interest and help me. Parting with the government should never part them and me; but to them I would yet come, and be a protection to them under it, and settle my young brood with them. But I despair of their recovery, and believe that a tight and rigorous hand must first teach them to value my company and give me better entertainment. I justify not my son's folly, and less their provocation; but if his regards to your governor does not hinder him, he has a great interest to obtain it with persons of great quality, and in the ministry too; and he is of a temper to remember them, though I fear they did design the affront to me more than to him, which renders the case worse. In short, sell nothing but to return as I said just now, neither one thing nor another in cash or bills: I will rather sell here to the government.

I expect that Friends and your assembly will do me justice upon David Lloyd. If what thou writest be true of his forgery and clandestine work after the assembly was up, 't is an intolerable abuse, and deserves all he is worth in the world; and unless they will make him a public example, and turn him out from

being recorder or a practitioner at any of my courts, I hereby desire Judge Mompesson, as he has expressed he can, would show them the force of their charters as well as how they have basely made use of them. I say again, I desire that he would evacuate both, that to the town, and that to the province, since I find more justice and mercy from my enemies than some of my professed friends — I mean as to the profession. Let no time be lost, and I shall lose none here. I am anxiously grieved at thy unhappy love, for thy sake and my own, for T. S. and thy discord[1] has been of no service here any more than there, and some say, that come thence, that thy amours have so altered or influenced thee that thou art grown touchy and apt to give short and rough answers, which many call haughty, &c. I make no judgment, but caution thee, as in former letters, to let truth preside, and bear impertinencies as patiently as thou canst. Others would insinuate further, as if thy complaining was for thy own interest, at my damage; but I turn a deaf ear to that: the best conduct draws often the greatest envy or reflection sometimes.

I own I am unspeakably disappointed in not knowing how my interest lies as to bonds, rent-rolls, &c., what is received and what paid; and fail not of it by the first opportunity.[2]

I had a letter from the judge, and packets from the governor, a letter from Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, and Griffith Owen, which I'll answer if I can; but my incomparable difficulties press me, and one is, two German gentlemen, who are come hither to pass to you, to fix a colony in the province of Germans, and the ship is ready to sail, but I purpose to write to the governor. My dear love to the above named, and all others that are right minded. For thy Barbadoes letters, they are safe by

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[1] Thomas Story married, about this time, Ann, daughter of Edward Shippen, to whom the secretary had been much attached. She was a fine woman, but died a few years after her marriage of a consumption: they had no issue. Thomas Story received the house in Second Street where the Bank of Pennsylvania now stands, as part of her marriage dower. This he afterwards sold to James Logan, with whom in the decline of life he corresponded on religious and philosophical subjects. — L.

[2] A long letter in answer to this article, on William Penn's private estate, is in being, but it appeared unnecessary to insert it here. — L.

the ship's being retaken, &c. Oh, that some of our people would read the book of Numbers from the 20th to the 30th chapter, and see their condition. But I must be brief, so desiring thee to send me a full account of all things, and to be lively and diligent in my business, which succeeding, so shalt thou, I end.

Thy loving friend, WM. PENN.

27th 12th-mo., 1704.

P. S.—I had John Sotcher's letter, and desire him to go on as he has done and send me their history by all opportunities; with my love to him and her and the family. I was pleased with his account, but would have it yet more exact. Mine are well and salute friends and thee. Vale.

On the 28th of October, this year, 1704, died the celebrated philosopher, John Locke: he was friendly to William Penn and the principles of the Quakers, and by his excellent letter on toleration, first printed in 1690, materially contributed to put a stop to the illiberal treatment and persecution which they had received.—L.

[NOTE.—The winter of 1704–5 was remarkably severe, as may be gathered from some passages in the foregoing letters, and which the following extracts corroborate.—L.]

ISAAC NORRIS TO DANIEL ZACHARY.

12th-mo., 1704–5.

. . . . As the longest English liver has never known such a winter as this for the abundance of snow, so have never had such a vacation. All avenues are stopped, and travelling wholly impeded till just now. The post has not been here these six weeks, which makes the time pass on very melancholy, and the more particularly for the want of hearing from thee as usual. This makes me assured 't will be as welcome to thee to hear *thy little boy* is well, and our family, with friends generally. Our

river has been fast these six weeks, and people go and come with carts, sleds, horses, &c., as on land. Dutch sleds are mightily in fashion here this winter. . . . .

ISAAC NORRIS TO JOHN ASKEW.

PHILADELPHIA, 10*th* 12*th-mo.*, (*Feb.*,) 1704–5.

"We have had the deepest snow this winter that has been known, (by the longest English liver here;) no travelling, all avenues shut; the post has not gone these six weeks. The river still fast: people bring loads over it, as they did seven years ago when thou wast here; many creatures like to perish."

[Extracts giving some account of the situation of affairs, and particular inhabitants, &c.—L.]

"William Clark, senior, (judge,) lately dead, and a mishap fallen to the circumstances of his son, which I doubt you will too soon hear of."

[13*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1705.]

"Charles Read was buried last first-day, after about eight months laid up of his distemper. Sarah Plumstead (Righton that was) thought to be near expiring of consumption. Our governor and assembly don't hit it; David Lloyd is speaker; Jos. Wilcox, J. Wood, and some others, are right-hand men; 't is feared they endeavor to confuse all by design, though all deny. In the main, we yet do well enough, but fear Governor Penn cannot hold it without better supplies and more unanimity of the people. John Moore is collector, and severe enough. Col. Quary gone to Virginia, in order for England again: 't is sudden and mysterious. Cornbury carries it with a high hand in the Jerseys."

James Logan to William Penn.[1]

Philadelphia, 11*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1704–5.

Honored Governor: — The inclosed is much of what I wrote from New Castle when the assembly was held there; but whenever duplicates come, wrote in my own hand, I request that the first may be destroyed, and the latest only kept. Since that time, Captain Robinson arrived with thine of the 5th-mo. last, by which I am extremely troubled to perceive the apprehensions our separation of the province and territories give thee, and that it may prove a hinderance in thy treaty with the Crown. All possible measures, as has been largely said, have been taken to prevent it, but there is no remedy; however, if thou canst not find thy account in treating with the ministry, by a much more pacific temper for this winter among the people than we were blessed with some time before, I am in hopes that it may not prove impossible to carry on affairs for some further time with so much ease that it may be no great hardship to thee still to hold the government. Matters have been much smoother of late, and all things very quiet; whether it may be in some measure owing to the hopes we have of better days, from that great action on the Danube, I know not, and of our trade reviving, &c., I know not; but this government has never been more calm than of late: Quary and all the rest very good, David Lloyd in appearance. The present mayor, Griffith Jones, direct contrary to what was expected, acquits himself with the greatest moderation[2] and most temper than any in his place have done. Only that lurking snake, David Lloyd, keeps and is kept at a distance.

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[1] [This letter is incomplete. — Editor.]

[2] Colonel Quary's violent opposition to the government of William Penn appears to have ceased about this time. He had made a visit to England, and it is to be presumed the remedy mentioned in the letter to Judge Mompesson had been efficacious. David Lloyd and his adherents now clouded the political horizon in Pennsylvania; and the comfort of the few remaining years of William Penn's life was also deeply assailed by the exorbitant demands made against him by Philip Ford, his agent and steward on his Irish estate, of which transaction many particulars will be found in future letters. — L.

What the assembly will be prevailed on to do when they meet, which is to be the 3d-mo. next, I know not, but it is to be hoped time will, by degrees, open the misled members' eyes, and that if this year produces no good effect, it may as little ill, and then perhaps David may be disappointed in the next election, which we could not bring to bear in the last, because of some advantages that by an unlucky occasion he took and improved. His base letter I hope has fallen into thy own hands only, and then the damage will be small, and will but serve to give thee a portraiture of the harm that some men carry in their breasts. He is much abhorred by most that hear of it; but as I have said in my last, we can by no means come at a copy of it. Upon the whole, I humbly offer it as my opinion that, if thou canst not come to advantageous terms with the Crown for the government, the best way would be for thee to settle affairs there the best thou canst, and make a trip over thyself; for thou canst never, in my judgment, be safe altogether here while the government is in thy own hands; and endeavor to get back these charters, granting others at the same time equally beneficial.[1] . . .

Both the governor and myself are much at a stand what to believe of the surrender, but are inclinable to think 't is resolved: however, the assembly being to meet the very day the letters arrived, the governor made them a speech as proper for the occasion as could be thought of, with these two designs in view: first, that if the government were surrendered, the persons who were the causes of it might be the more pointed out, and the just blame thrown upon them that they deserved, &c.; secondly, if not, that they might either be effectually pressed to do business, or be exposed to the country, which is already much incensed against them. A copy of this, with their answer, and another sharp message to them, is sent inclosed. Friends are so extremely dissatisfied with their proceedings, that we have very good assurances, in case they have the opportunity of another election on the same foot, there will be a choice according to thy own heart in Chester County, and mostly in this; but Bucks is a weak and unsanctified place, through William Biles's means chiefly; and the town will always, I doubt,

[1] [Here four pages of the manuscript are wanting. — EDITOR.]

yield us two enemies, but the honest of other places fear not overpowering them.

There is also a design to send thee an address from the principal Friends of the place, lamenting those unhappy proceedings, and purging themselves from them, with a condemnation of that base letter from David Lloyd, which, whether the surrender be made or not, will, I know, be of very great service, especially in case any copies of the letter should be published; but if an account should arrive before it is done that thou hast parted with all, it will be afterwards impracticable. Those troublesome members have been so fully exposed, that great part of the country will now be as careful to choose men that will give money, and support government, as at other times they would avoid it. I wish their wiser repentance may not come too late; and am sorry the law of property is returned blank, for on that only our resurveys were grounded; and without the allowance of the 10 in the 100, it will be impossible, I fear, to recover any overplus without suits at law; nor do I know how we can that way itself go about it. The people I believe will at length, if their present disposition hold, be willing to settle a revenue as desired; but at the same time they must, by as firm a law, be settled in all things that are their due, both privileges and property: this, I mean, after another election, for from the present nothing is to be expected. They talk, indeed, of taking it into consideration immediately; but we have reason to believe that, as they are now composed, they will do more hurt than good, and that the best service at present is to expose them to the country. There are, however, six or seven as good members as could be wished for; but the rest being made up of k——s and fools, the latter, as usual, are made tools to the former.

Thy unfortunate losses by sea yield so melancholy a prospect that it quite disheartens me; but it is not thy lot alone: William Trent and Isaac Norris, the chief traders in the place, have lost this last year, I fear, one-third of their estates; for scarce anything returns that hath been sent out. But upon advice that at Barbadoes the country has fitted out two or three good vessels to defend their coasts, seeing the men-of-war have resolved to take no care of them, I shipped on board of Capt. Robinson a

small venture of flour more on thy account; before the receipt of thy last letters, but shall hold thy hand that way till further orders, unless it be in such quantities as I find a necessity to receive in flour. But we have not found yet any effects from the Queen's orders for allowing trade with the Spaniards, they refusing mostly to trade with us.

'Trade for Madeira is likewise, this summer, very discouraging, wheat being fallen there one-third in the price, and wine advanced as much on the other hand.

I am very much troubled that thou wast not pleased to let me understand before, thy design with a rent-roll and the bonds: the first I shall despatch as soon as possible, in the best manner I can to answer the end, but 't is a very tedious work, being so very difficult to get the people to meet me for want of money, that I cannot promise it before next winter is gone, and then, if it please God I live, and we have peace, I think thou may depend upon it. ' I have been very busy last winter in settling books and accounts, and this spring I have mostly spent in carrying on the roll, and so shall continue; but it had been much more forward if last summer had not found me so many diversions, not from what thou mentions of my amours, for the trouble I met with in that way was so sudden, and the person I mentioned in mine of 8br. so irretrievably gone all at once, that prudence would advise me to business at that time more than ever, and I assure thee nothing of the kind could pass more easily over, for the treatment carried its own cure with it. The diversions that I mean were the most perplexing thoughts, as well as business arising from thy concerns here at that time: some small business of my own I had 't is true, but that soon came to an end by the fortune of trade and war, of which thyself has been so deep a partaker.

I here send thee a list of the bonds in my possession, with an account of what is due upon them, without reckoning interest; but few of them will be fit to be assigned there, because payment cannot well be refused when tendered; but now I know thy intentions, I shall make it my business with other things to take obligations for as much as I can, especially for such debts as may be likely to continue out longer, in which I have been

more remiss hitherto, having the lands always for security, which is much better than personal, and there is no disputing the interest, for as we draw our warrants now upon new sales, their not complying with the terms forfeits their tenure, a method that it had been happy if it always had been practised. But sales of land are now mostly over, the greatest part that we bargained for being within the first year after thy departure: since which, money being so scarce, and wheat low, there is no encouragement to buy, and but very few look after their overplus. An account of which, all the art I can use cannot yet bring to any perfection, notwithstanding 't is now near eighteen months since the resurveys were over; but the surveyors plead so many difficulties, that I cannot have the returns finished, but this year, if we live, will end it all.

I do assure thee I never had the least notion of thy mortgaging the quit-rents, or assigning bonds here, till the receipt of thy last, a few days ago; otherwise should[1] have endeavored to be in a better readiness; and had the less reason to suspect the former by thy son's discourse, on whom I understood they were settled; but that being none of my business, I shall obey orders [2][as for the bonds, I know not what to think of the method, for whatever bonds thou assigns I must afterwards forbear to receive any pay of them, notwithstanding many are such as one would be well enough pleased to receive at any rate. But one of the best funds now of land is the new Welsh settlement in New Castle County, could the business between Maryland and us be settled; there is £3,000 due there, of which we

[1] [Mrs. Logan's copy ends here, but we are able, from the original manuscript placed in our hands, to restore a portion of the letter.—Ed.]

[2] [There is some confusion in the contents of this letter. That part of it beginning with the above words, "*as for the bonds*," down to the word "*protested*," on the 366th page, and from the succeeding words, namely, "*From the bad success*," to the word "*beat*," on page 367, form the subject of an independent letter, copied by Mrs. Logan under the title, "Letter from James Logan to William Penn, without a date, but apparently belonging to this period." The remainder of the epistle, as copied by Mrs. Logan, is, under the above heading, to be found under the date of 22d of 9th-mo., 1704, on page 344. Those passages succeeding the word "*protested*," not being found elsewhere, we have given at the end of this letter. — Editor.]

shall not get 500, I fear, except from one family, till that business of the line be adjusted, the people demanding positive warranties before they pay the money, and the claims made by those of Maryland are so many that it puzzles us extremely. If that whole business be not issued in thy lifetime, I doubt thy heirs will reap no great benefit from a large part of these counties: they grow more bold now than ever, and extend their claims upon old surveys up to, and some beyond, our old settlement. I must always press this, and in every letter, as of the greatest necessity.

I admire I hear nothing by this last opportunity of new [obliterated] Letitia's lots and lands. I have urged much, and sent over all that [obliterated] received nothing, besides two very angry letters from herself and husband, threatening to send over some person to look after it at thy charge [obliterated]. I would by no means disoblige Letitia, having a hearty respect [obliterated] her concerns, but 't is impossible to do more than the circumstances of the thing will allow of. There is £400 out in good hands on interest, which I shall receive, and £400 more in thy business, which shall be the first thing I remit with the interest. Since the arrival of the powers, now fifteen months ago, I [obliterated] bargained for £725 more, but none will take titles or pay money upon these we have, nor, had we all the money in hand, can find out any way to remit it: two-thirds of the Maryland bills are said to be protested[1] [obliterated.] . . . .

From the bad success thou hast had in returns, I am sensible my reputation among some sorts of people will be in much danger, for I well know that the active part of the world is too much composed of such as, having no other scope of life but self-interest to themselves, make success in others the measure of their understanding. I shall be very willing therefore if thou intends not shortly to come over thyself, to make it my sole business for the future to settle all thy affairs in the province and bring them to a head, to make perfect drafts and rolls of all the lands surveyed, with an account of all overplus and vacancies, and whatever also thou hast any claim on, and to

[1] [See note 2, page 365. — EDITOR.]

settle all manner of accounts with every person I have had to do with, and then to bring all over to England with me, to give an account of my stewardship, and then, as there shall be occasion, receive a discharge or otherwise. This I hope to be able to do against next fall come twelve months, and in the mean time thou may give me thy sentiments; but 't is now very much my inclination, for I must not suffer my accounts to be long unadjusted, nor my reputation to be martyred on both sides: here for too much rigor, and there for its opposite.

I cannot understand that paragraph in thy letter relating to T. S. and myself: thou says our discord has done no more good there than here, and know not who carried the account of it, for I wrote to none that I know but thyself, in 7br., 1703, and I am no more to be blamed than a person that 's [obliterated] in the highway; he has a greater privilege above me, 't is true [obliterated] profession he makes, but 't is too far extended if one must be beat[1] [obliterated] for his having a mind to do it the first. Before that we had lived eighteen months very good friends without any manner of provocation, only that I had about three or four months before spoke something to Edward Shippen relating[2] . . . .

Two-thirds of the Maryland bills are said to be protested, which has made the generality of them of no manner of value. I paid Richard Hill for him £225 in money for W. Aubrey, and hope this summer to clear off all the interest, so that he shall have no reason to complain on that head. Nor is there quite so much as he believes, would he be pleased to consider that I never had any orders about it till until the 12th-mo., 1703–4, and the letters that disturbed him so much were writ in the 8th-mo. following, a space too short, if he knew our circumstances, to expect any thing from. I have no reason to be fond of the business, and, were it not Letitia's, would never upon any terms meddle with it. I have made the sales not only to the utmost value at the time, but outdone the expectations of all in the prices, except in two small lots where I was a little

[1] [See note 2, page 365. — EDITOR.]
[2] [Several pages of manuscript at this point are lost. — EDITOR.]

overseen. What is theirs in hand in thy business shall be honestly paid with the interest, and that, and what else is due, shall be very readily given up to any other hand they shall be pleased to appoint, for 't is now impossible to avoid censure, or make remittances as desired. We cannot coin bills. If the Marylanders have not credit in England, it is in vain to expect good bills from them, and this our own merchants have found from dear experience.

I wish thou would prevail with William to take his money here; though with a better exchange than usual, it would be much more for thy interest,[1] because it would take off that heavy

[1] The reader will be pleased to recollect that William Penn's elder children were entitled to lands in Pennsylvania in right of their mother. The following is part of a letter from Wm. Penn, Jr., after his return to England, 1705–6. — L.

I have received yours of the 9th of November, and can assure you, notwithstanding your complaints, I have writ twice since my arrival. I must own I ought to have writ oftener, both on my own account as well as that of friendship to you. I was large to the governor in my last, as well as to you, and had put up a packet of pamphlets for you, but find my father has not sent them. If I have time they shall come by this opportunity. You must believe I cannot live here about a court without expenses which my attendance occasion, and I must own to you I never was so pinched in my life, wherefore must beg you to endeavor all you can to send over my effects, with all the speed you possibly can: I should choose bills rather than any other way, and I think my chapman ought not to grudge to let me have bills for my payment: the gold I had of Wm. Trent was not worth ——, of which I design to send you a particular account.

I hear the prosecution against me still continues, and that they have outlawed me upon it: I have complained to my father, who tells me he has, and will now write about it, and that I shall have right done me in it, which I do expect at your hands, I mean at the Quakers', who are the people who have given me this affront; or else I shall make use of a shorter cut to do myself justice, and will lay my complaint before the Queen and council, which if they force me to, be assured I shall make them dearly repent they ever made use of their charter in such a manner as to use those people so ill that endeavored to settle a militia according to law — that was partly the ground of their quarrel with me, added to my not being of their opinion. I would have you well consider these things, and think how ill they will sound in the ears of a government at home that are not of principles like yours, and who will aptly believe their inclination is as much to persecution as others, durst they publicly own it. I should be sorry

clog of me, and he might direct the returns to be made as he thought fit by his own agents; for by bills of exchange it will be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, till trade mend. I request, if there be any hopes of prevailing, that this be heartily labored, for this is the only way thou can be cleared without tedious delays and great uneasiness. Thou might give orders to send home vessels into Virginia and Maryland with goods to purchase bills there, which, when obtained, perhaps may be good for very little. I again earnestly beseech thee not to let anything of this importance, and such as the business of the lower counties, &c., lie unanswered and unregarded, when thy own interest is so deeply concerned in them.

James Logan to Mrs. Letitia Aubrey.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 12*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1704–5.

. . . . Though his visit[1] to us has unhappily made a great change in his outward appearance, I would fain hope his unexpected return has wrought no great alteration in thy father's affairs, or in their good understanding. He was barbarously treated by that rascal David Lloyd . . . . but Griffith Jones, being now mayor, carries matters with great ease, and I hope the temper of the people is generally mending, and am sure

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they should force me to things quite contrary to my inclination; but as my honor has been injured, I am resolved to have justice done me, or run all hazards, without consideration to relation, friend, or interest in the country.

I desire you if possible to sell the remainder of my land there before you send over, and make what returns you can. Pray remember me to all my friends. This to them and to yourself, that I am and ever will be your affectionate friend, Wm. Penn, Jr.

P. S. — Pray put Isaac Norris and William Trent in mind of their promise to send me over a pipe of old Madeira, which I shall take kindly. My father has promised to write to you about my charges there. If there be any extravagant ones, I am to bear them; but as to that of books, pocket money, and clothes, with the charges of the voyage going and returning, he will allow.

To James Logan.

[1] [Her brother, William Penn, Jr., is here referred to. — Editor.]

thy father's circumstances require an alteration in them. Pray give thyself the trouble of remembering us. A. Sh., an old friend, is still as before, and hitherto unsuccessful. J. Growdon is married to the widow Bulkly, and friend Richardson is to have his daughter, my quondam. Owen has Sarah Sanders; and David Lloyd, God be thanked, is gone to Maryland, leaving an acquaintance more happy than he once wished. The Lord grant more wit to those that need it, and especially to

Thy assured and faithful friend and servant, J. L.

ISAAC NORRIS TO WILLIAM PENN, SEN.

PHILADELPHIA, 13*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1704–5.

HONORED FRIEND WILLIAM PENN, SEN. — I embrace this conveyance, per my brother Zachary, to give thee my hearty respects; and since thou wast pleased formerly to allow it, I shall give some hints at something which may perhaps slip more important pens.

Thou hast, no doubt, a full account of all proceedings since the arrival of our present lieutenant governor. It is far from me to undertake the defence of our assembly; but, as I heartily wish (and while I was concerned, honestly endeavored) a good understanding, so shall crave leave to give my opinion. 'T is to be doubted there are some who, by linking imaginary with the true interests of the country, and therewith couch and cover their own interests and disgusts, do so perplex affairs as to prevent a good issue, and may almost give the honest and undesigning to despair of any reconciliation or progress to settlement (as perhaps they think it their interest) under our present establishment.

On the other side, I could wish a more ready condescension to what is reasonable, just, and for the true interest of the place, and that some punctilios were rather stept over, than that we should be left thus open and naked, stripped of laws and privileges that might be some barrier to an arbitrary administration, if such a one should unhappily be our lot.

In order to this, if we could hear what has become of our

laws on your side, or rather that they were confirmed, for 't is now muttered we have none, and by thy enemies aggravated as design, by dropping what we had confirmed and making a body of thy own, and then neglecting to present them to the Queen (for I know not what interest;) that since thou hast been pleased to grant charters to province and city, (which proving a bone, some could wish we were without,) but in this I am a skeptic; that they may not be unseasonably oppugned by the chief and other magistrates on pretence of weak and mal-administrations; that the dissolution that made so much heat the first session be waived, as there now seems inclination to do, (which, if it had been done at first, I am satisfied the designers had not had their ends in that assembly,) and let the charter of property, or somewhat like it, be confirmed by law; and two or three other good laws be made, which I need not be particular in, and we may hope a happy conclusion. I add that I mean this honestly and without the least design of an encroachment on thy interest; but as it may be safe, honorable to thee and thy memory, which I can sincerely say I desire may be sweetly handed to successive ages, not only as a worthy undertaker and leader to the settlement, but as a kind supporter and preserver, under God, to the people.

I beg excuse for being thus homely and plain, and leave to add some things which unhappily give too much occasion, and I fear will keep a handle in thy enemies' hands, which I would fain have wrested out, and that is the impositions without law — Ordinaries must pay about £8 a license — We have now additional charges and fees on our vessels — A small sloop, such as could be formerly cleared for 34s., will now come to near £4 — Great complaints from those concerned in lawsuits, of extravagant fees. I wish the bill of fees had been perfected ere thy going off, for now, having no law in the case, all do what is right in their own eyes.

John Moore is collector; and, whether to appear the more just, and thereby keep the office, I shall not determine, not only weighs to a pound all tobacco, but refuses, notwithstanding the scarcity of money, to take the duty in [kind], though the act of Parliament expressly allows it; and further, whereas it has

always been usual here, as in England, that in case a loss arise before the tobacco arrives at its intended port, we should have liberty to ship off the like quantity for the same duty, he refuses us this. We have none to complain to in the case but thee, and hope thou wilt endeavor that we are not thus imposed on, and made in a worse condition than our neighbors; and notwithstanding Col. Quary, when we objected this to him, promised we should not be harder dealt with, yet we shall find, for all his endeavors, in Maryland and Virginia they ship off tobacco as formerly, and have and will cut us out of the Barbadoes trade for that commodity. I also advise thee that Maryland has not only laid an additional imposition upon liquors, but has wholly prohibited bread, flour, horses, and tobacco, &c. No doubt thou wilt have a copy of the law. I shall only observe, in my poor opinion, that as in general none of the plantations ought to prohibit anything which the laws of trade allow, so 't is barbarous or extremely ill-natured to prohibit bread, &c., the staff of life. The Spaniard, who is as jealous of his trade in the West Indies as of his wife at home, allows us to carry them provisions in time of peace; and shall subjects of the same crown be suffered to do thus?

After what I have said above, I do assure thee I have not the least dissatisfaction to the governor, but love and honor him as a gentleman of parts and worth; and when more experience has obliged him to con the proverb, "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare," in its best sense, I doubt not his being as good a governor as any in America.

I must now entreat a favorable construction of all I have said, as intended for service of thy interest and the country's; for although I have had for some time an inclination to write to thee somewhat of this nature, yet through caution and fear having forbore till the last hour of the post going out, I cannot be so correct or intelligible as I could wish, or might have been on second thought.

Our families are well. Sister Hill has another daughter, now five days old, and like to do well. Being hastened, I must refer to the intended bearer for any further news; and with mine

and wife's hearty respects to thee, thy good wife, and all thine, I conclude.

Thy cordial friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

WILLIAM PENN TO ROGER MOMPESSON.

17*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1704–5.

HONORED FRIEND: — It is a long time since I have been obliged with any letter from thee, and then so short, that had not others furnished me with thy American character, I had been at a loss to answer the inquiries of thy friends; but by my son I received one more copiously informing me of those affairs that so nearly concern both the public and my personal and family good; and for answer to the greatest part thereof, I desire thee to observe: First, that I am determined with God's help to stand firmly to both, and for that reason will neither turn an enemy to the public, nor suffer any under the style of the public good to supplant mine. And as I take thee to be a man of law and justice and honor, I do entirely refer my concerns, both as to the legality and prudence thereof, not only in government but property, to thy judicious and judicial issue, so as it may hold water with thy most learned and honorable friends here of both parties. I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind, that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account.

The charter I granted was intended to shelter them against a violent or arbitrary governor imposed upon us; but that they should turn it against me, that intended their security thereby, has something very unworthy and provoking in it, especially when I alone have been at all the charge, as well as danger and disappointment, in coming so abruptly back and defending ourselves against our enemies here, and obtaining the Queen's gracious approbation of a governor of my nominating and commissioning, the thing they seemed so much to desire. But as a father does not use to knock his children on the head when they

do amiss, so I had much rather they were corrected and better instructed than treated to the rigor of their deservings. I therefore earnestly desire thee to consider of what methods law and reason will justify, by which they may be made sensible of their incroachments and presumption, that they may see themselves in a true light, in their just proportions and dimensions, according to the old saying, "Metiri se quemquè suo modulo ac pede verum est." No doubt but their follies have been frequent and big enough in the city to vacate their charter, but that should be the last thing, if anything else would do. I would hope that in the abuse of power, punishing the immediate offenders should instruct them to use it well. But doubtless the choice of David Lloyd, both for speaker and recorder, after the affront he gave in open court to the authority of the Crown in the late reign, which he owned but never repented of, and for which the lords justices of England commanded me to have him tried and punished, and to send them word what punishment I inflicted, as also the choice of —— for ——, that confessed himself to defraud the king of his customs, for which he is punishable at this day, since "nullum tempus occurrit regi," are only ugly flaws on their charter.

There is an excess of vanity that is apt to creep in upon the people in power in America, who, having got out of the crowd in which they were lost here, upon every little eminency there, think nothing taller than themselves but the trees, and as if there were no after superior judgment to which they should be accountable; so that I have sometimes thought that if there was a law to oblige the people in power, in their respective colonies, to take turns in coming over for England, that they might lose themselves again amongst the crowds of so much more considerable people at the custom-house, exchange, and Westminster Hall, they would exceedingly amend in their conduct at their return, and be much more discreet and tractable, and fit for government. In the mean time, pray help to prevent them not to destroy themselves. Accept of my commission of chief justice of Pennsylvania and the territories. Take them all to task for their contempts, presumption, and riots. Let them know and feel the just order and decency of government, and that

they are not to command but to be commanded according to law and constitution of English government. And till those unworthy people that hindered an establishment upon thee as their chief justice are amended or laid aside, so as thou art considered by law to thy satisfaction, I freely allow thee twenty pounds each session, which I take to be at spring and fall; and at any extraordinary session thou mayst be called from New York unto, upon nice or weighty causes, having also thy viaticum discharged. Let me entreat this as an act of friendship, and as a just and honorable man. More particulars expect by James Logan, for I perceive time is not to be lost.

Now I must condole thy great loss in thy wife and own brother, the particulars of which must refer thee to her own brother and our common friend, C. Lawton. Thy letters inclosed to me I delivered, and was well enough pleased to see that one of them was directed to Lord S. I write no news, only I find that moderation on this side of the water is a very recommending qualification, as neither high church nor violent Whig seem to be the inclination and choice of the ministry. I wish our people on your side had no worse disposition.

I cannot conclude this letter till I render thee, as I now do, my hearty acknowledgments for all the good advice thou hast given for the public and my private good, especially thy sentiments to the governor, upon those three preposterous bills, foolishly as well as insolently presented him by David Lloyd, the last assembly: let him part with nothing that is mine, for had he passed them, they would never have been confirmed here, but he might have spoiled himself. What a bargain should I have made for my government with the Crown, after such a bill had taken from me the very power I should dispose of? I will say no more at this time, but that I am, with just regards, thy very affectionate and faithful friend, WILLIAM PENN.

HYDE PARK, 17*th* 12*th-mo.*, (*Feb'y*,) 1704–5.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I am assured by thy friends there is no prevailing for the salary formerly allowed to the chief justice of York, and I fear that government under the present management is under a very ill circumstance with the min-

istry at home. I shall order James Logan to consider thy services to ours, since thy arrival. W. P.

P. S.—The reason why I use another hand is my late indisposition, which has left me incapable to write myself. But I bless Almighty God I am something better. W. P.

[Added in W. Penn's own hand:]

Lord Cornbury writ for Col. Quary about the admiralty business in thy disfavor, to his father, who followed his son's desires to thy disadvantage, of whom we hear the worst of things, be they true or false.[1]

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

——— 1704–5.

I have mentioned in the first sheet[2] our greater ease in the government, and a more pacific temper that seems growing on the people, so that this winter has passed the most smoothly of any time I have known in this government. Nor is it owing, I believe, wholly to the season and its severity, that has bound up most men in their habitations; but there seems to be growing on the inhabitants, in the main, much better inclinations; which could we have the same success in Portugal as in Bavaria, I believe would greatly increase upon us, for 't is Spain that must support us, and easy circumstances seldom fail of superinducing good nature. Yet, one thing creates to me still no small uneasiness; which is the charge of our housekeeping, and the thoughts that all the present emoluments of the governor will by no means defray it, though we endeavor to make the best of it; but a good assembly may in some measure make amends for it, if thou still thinks fit to continue it as it is.

I cannot possibly finish a rent-roll, as desired: 't is a mighty

[1] When Lord Cornbury was appointed to the government of New York and the Jerseys, John Askew wrote to a friend in the country that he came partly to get money, for that his quality greatly exceeded his purse, and adds, "the Duke of Norfolk and some other nobility, *not of much service*, died this spring," (1701.)—L.

[2] This is but part of a letter: the first sheet cannot be found.—L.

work as I carry it on, and will make many quires of paper. I never promised it that I know of, as thou art pleased to mention; but I shall drive it on to my utmost, though the want of a good writer is a hardship, and fit hands to be assistant, of which I have great reason to complain, as well as that the matter itself will by no means afford encouragement. By next post, if there be a probability of its reaching the fleet, of which I do not despair, I design to write to Joseph Pike, that haughty as well as angry man, by which the author of those heats may gain no more than he has by some other of his equally base attacks upon me. I shall be very moderate, but must do myself justice; but I must close, &c. J. L.

APPENDIX.

NOTE.—PAGE 271.

EXTRACTS FROM A REPORT OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS, TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. DATED YE 27TH OF MARCH, 1701.

WE have on many occasions represented to his majesty, as we did likewise in our report to the late House of Commons, the state of such plantations in America as are under the government of proprietors and charters, and how inconsistent such governments are with the trade and welfare of this kingdom.

That these Colonies in general have no ways answered the chief design for which such large tracts of land and privileges and immunities were granted by the crown.

That they have not conformed themselves to the several acts of Parliament for regulating trade and navigation, to which they ought to pay the same obedience and submit to the same restrictions as the other plantations, which are subject to his majesty's immediate governments, though on the contrary in most of these proprietary and charter governments, the Governors have not applied themselves to his majesty for his approbation, nor have taken the oaths required by the Acts of Trade, both which qualifications are made necessary by the late act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the plantation trade.

That they have assumed to themselves a power to make laws contrary and repugnant to the laws of England, and directly prejudicial to our trade, some of them having refused to send hither such laws as they have there enacted, or have sent them very imperfectly.

That divers of them having denied appeals to his majesty in council, by which not only the inhabitants of those Colonies, but others, his majesty's subjects, are deprived of that benefit enjoyed in the plantations, under his majesty's immediate government, and the parties aggrieved without remedy from the illegal proceedings of their courts.

That these Colonies continue to be the refuge and retreat of pirates and illegal traders, and the receptacle of goods imported thither from foreign parts, contrary to the law, no return of which commodities, those (obliterated) all of which is much encouraged by their not admitting of appeals, as aforesaid.

That by raising and lowering their coin from time to time, to their particular advantage, and the prejudice of other Colonies, by exempting their inhabitants from duties and customs to which the other Colonies are subject, and by harboring of servants and fugitives, these governments tend greatly to the undermining the trade of the other plantations, and entice and draw away the people thereof, which diminution of hands in Colonies more beneficial to the crown, and do very much (obliterated). Independent Colonies do turn the course of trade to (obliterated) propagating woollens and other manufactures proper to England, and not of applying their thoughts and endeavors to such as are fit to be encouraged in those parts, according to the true design and intention of those settlements.

That these governments do not put themselves in a state of defence against an enemy, nor do they sufficiently provide themselves with arms and ammunition, many of them not having a regular militia, being no otherwise at present but in a state of anarchy and confusion. To cure these and other great mischiefs in these Colonies, and to introduce such administration of government and fit regulations of trade as may make them duly subservient and useful to England, we have humbly offered our opinion that the charters of several proprietors and other instituting them to a right of government, should be resumed to the crown, and these Colonies put into the same state of dependency as those of his majesty's other plantations, without further prejudice to every man's particular property and freehold, which we conceive cannot otherwise be well effected than by the legislative power of this kingdom.